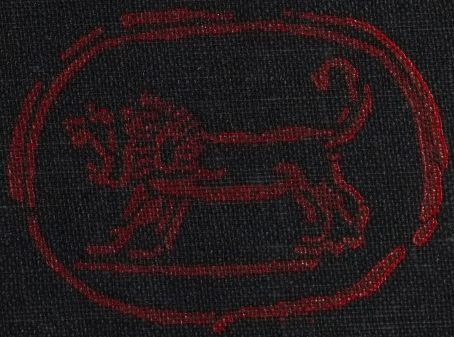


LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
NOV 21 1958
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
BS1197
.43.V87

# FERTILE SOIL

Black Sea
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Troy
Lesbos
Sardise
Ephesus
LYDIA
MUSKI (PHRYGIA)
SANGARIOS RIVER
HALYS RIVER
KASKA
HILAKKU
KAMMANU
MELITENE
TABAL
COMAGENE
EUPHRATES RIVER
URARTU (ARMENIA)
URARTU
LAKE VAN
LAKE URMIA
TIGRIS RIVER
Tuna
Tuhana
Hubishna
Shinuhtu
GURGUM
QUE (Cilicia)
MUSKI
YAUDI-SAMAL
ARPAD
Arpad
CARCHEMISH
Carchemish
Haran
Rhodes
UNQI
Aleppo
Tiphsah
Nineveh
GREAT ZAB
MEDES
Ashur
LITTLE ZAB
Ecbatana
HABOR
HATARIKA
Ugarit
KULLANI
OSROENE
MANSUATE
Karkar
Cyprus
ALASHIA
ELISHA
KITTIM
YATNANA
Arvad
SIMIRRA
HAMATH
Riblah
Tadmor
EUPHRATES RIVER
TIGRIS RIVER
Byblos (Gebal)
ZOBAH
Sidon
Tyre
LEBANON
Damascus
RAEE
QARNINI
HAURINA
Ramoth-Gilead
Dor
Samaria
GILEAD
JABBOK
AMMON
PHILISTIA
Joppa
Ashdod
Ashkelon
Gaza
Beth-el
Jerusalem
Lachish
ARNON
Raphia
JUDAH
MOAB
EDOM
Sela-Petra
EGYPT
Sinai
Elath
Der
Kish
Babylon
Susa
ELAM
UKNU
ULAI
Persian Gulf
THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST
WITH THE SYRIAN PROVINCES OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE IN THE AGE OF ISAIAH

LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
NOV 21 1956
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

# FERTILE SOIL

A Political History of Israel
Under
The Divided Kingdom

by

Max Vogelstein

Their sound is gone out
into all the lands,
And their words
unto the ends of the world.

American Press New York

Library of Congress catalog card number: 57–11760

*First Edition*

© 1957, by Max Vogelstein. *All rights reserved* under the International and Pan-American Copyright Conventions.

MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THE AMERICAN PRESS 489 Fifth Avenue New York 17, N. Y.

To

Hermann and Esther,

my children

# Contents


PAGE

List of Maps . . . . . viii

To the Reader . . . . . ix

To the Scholar . . . . . xvi

*Proœmium*: Fertile Soil . . . . . 1

I. From Solomon to Jehu (933–841) . . . . 3

II. The House of Jehu (841–747) . . . . . 18

*Interlude*: Rezin and the Rise of Tiglathpileser 34

III. The Age of Isaiah (747–698) . . . . . 44

1. The Collapse of Israel (747–722) . . 46

2. Hezekiah and Assyria (721–698) . . 62

IV. A Century on Borrowed Time (698–586) . . 83

*Conclusion*: World Crisis and Return from Exile 104

*Epilogue* . . . . . 108

* * *

Appendix . . . . . 113

Notes . . . . . 115

Supplementary Note: . . . . . 128

The New Babylonian Records on Nebuchadnezzar's Conquest of Palestine

Indices . . . . . 133

Chronological Survey . . . . . .

The Divided Kingdom in the Framework of the Ancient Near East

(Synchronistic)

# List of Maps


| | | PAGE |
|---|---|---|
| I | The Ancient Near East with the Syrian Provinces of the Assyrian Empire in the Age of Isaiah . . . . . | Frontispiece |
| II | From David to Ahab . . . . . | 10 |
| | A. *The Empire of David and Solomon* | |
| | B. *The Bloc Created by Ahab*–869 B.C. | |
| III | Benhadad and Ahab–Karkar . . . . . | 13 |
| IV | The Empire of Hazael of Damascus, circa 800 B.C. . . . . | 24 |
| V | The Empire of Jeroboam II . . . . . | 33 |
| VI | Tiglathpileser's Syrian Campaign . . . . | 38–39 |
| | A. 743 B.C.–*Battle of Halpi in Comagene* | |
| | B. 742–740 B.C.–*Revolt of Azriyau of Yaudi* | |
| | C. 732 (733?)–*Tribute after Rezin's Defeat* | |
| VII | Rezin against Tiglathpileser–734–732 B.C. . . | 53 |
| VIII | Palestine Reorganized in 732 B.C. . . . . | 55 |
| IX | The Revolt Against Shalmaneser 727–722 B.C. *The Fall of Samaria* . . . . . | 61 |
| X | Sargon in the Crisis of 720 B.C. *The Hamath Rebellion* . . . . . | 64 |
| XI | Sargon in the Crisis of 714–710 B.C. *The Ashdod Rebellion* . . . . . | 70–71 |
| XII | Sennacherib in the Crisis of 705–701 B.C. . | 76–77 |
| XIII | The Realm of Josiah *Megiddo–Carchemish* . . . . . | 94–95 |
| XIV | The End of Judah . . . . . | 103 |

# FERTILE SOIL

# To the Reader

THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL presented in the following chapters may be extremely useful as a textbook—however, it was not intended to be a textbook; the college student preparing for an examination may find it a handy helper—but it was not designed for this purpose; the scholar may encounter new ideas, new interpretations, new discoveries—in greater number, perhaps, than in more voluminous studies—but it was not meant to be a learned book for learned men.

If any part of it should appear learned in character, the author offers his apologies for his clumsiness.

Writing history is not compiling learned notes. (Herodotus has taught us that.) Whatever research has preceded it ought to be as inconspicuous as the individual threads, the different strands in a piece of tapestry; as the numerous loops and knots in an Oriental rug.

*For whom, then, has this book been written,* if not for the scholar, if not for the student?

For you, the reader, the plain reader who wants to behold the picture as a whole—not the weaver's detail work—who wants to see the carpet unrolled before his eyes.

It has been written for the layman to whom history is meaningful, who turns to the past in order to discover himself, who enters a new formative period of his own life when entering into one of the great formative periods of mankind. And if the professor for a moment, just three or four short hours, can forget his being a professor, if he can become a plain reader, then it has been written for him too. Afterwards, he may become a professor again, trying to

unravel the individual strands woven into the picture. He might even find it enjoyable, might even learn a thing or two. And if he has objections, if he finds fault with the work, the author will be glad to learn about it—to accept criticism or to fight it. Yet, while he takes it for granted that the eye of scrutiny will discover minor errors which escaped his attention, he feels confident of being able to fend off any serious attack.

* * *

But in the last analysis, this book has been written for the author himself. His studies had reached a stage where they simply begged to be integrated into a whole, a stage where a vivid picture was before his eyes, where he felt the urge to shape these studies in his mind and to mold his mind while shaping them.

All this is mirrored in the style.

The rhythm of the sentences—the short ones, made up of two or three words, no less than the long ones—is as much part of the contents as the so-called facts.

What, after all, are facts not formed—amorphous, shapeless?

The reward of this approach was the discovery of additional facts emerging in the process of composing a whole—and there is a musical overtone in the word "composing"—so that the contours, unbroken, would become clear. What in the beginning appeared as a simple task of merely organizing the author's knowledge, of putting flesh around the chronological skeleton reconstructed by him, became a method of detecting new information; for as soon as a certain situation was clarified, documents hitherto overlooked or misunderstood became meaningful.

The reader will share in all this and, jointly with the author exploring the past, lift the past into our very presence—that we may struggle with its problems as our own, transform it into a living force within us.

Let us not forget that this past is—the Biblical age. To conquer it means to take possession of the Bible.

* * *

Thus, this book speaks directly to the plain reader. All it wants is to be read—and it should read easily.

It can be read in one piece in the course of an afternoon or evening. That means attending the drama from the beginning to the end. But the reader may as well confine himself to watching, for a short half-hour, only one individual scene at a time. Each chapter (and the two subdivisions of Chapter III count in this sense as chapters) is a monograph.

Each of these monographs is preceded by an introduction, a synopsis, designed to make quick orientation possible and to guide author and reader alike through the maze of events.

But while a cursory reading will evoke a clear picture with distinct outlines in the mind of the reader—and the book was written for this very end—a close study will open new approaches to those who avail themselves of this history as *a guide to the Book of Kings and to the Prophets.*

They will find that the information supplied in most concise form could easily fill several volumes. However, it was not the intention of the author to increase the number of voluminous histories of Israel by a new one which would find its place on dusty shelves.

He considered it his task to hoard as much as possible into the smallest space, and yet to produce a readable book

—not a bag stuffed with dust, but dust held together in human form by the spirit that permeates it.

He believes to have succeeded to a certain extent; and the reactions of those who read the manuscript—clergymen, students of theology, scholars in the fields of medieval and modern history, and laymen with different educational backgrounds—have confirmed him in this belief.

* * *

There are a few NOTES. The layman need not read them, though most of them are easily understandable. In order not to distract his attention, they have been relegated to an APPENDIX. They are not supposed to interrupt the train of thought.

MAPS AND CHARTS, accompanied by short commentaries, have been inserted in great number. The author trusts that the reader will find them helpful in arriving at an understanding of the strategical and political interrelations of the events. One glance at a map will enable the reader to recapitulate the entire section involved; and going over the set of thirteen maps will amount to reviewing the entire book.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY likewise has been designed to be an aid toward quick orientation involving a full appreciation of the interplay of forces in the ancient Near East. It may also serve as a guide for more intensive study. To achieve this end, not infrequently data have been added which supplement the information contained in the text. (The same applies to the COMMENTS to the maps.)

* * *

It remains to deal with one obvious question. Religious documents are viewed in these chapters under a strictly political aspect. How can we justify this approach?

The average Bible reader is rarely aware of the fact that what speaks to him from the pages of the Sacred Scriptures is history, full-fledged and full-blooded history on a world-wide scale. The melody he perceives may be heavenly, but the strings of the human soul are strung over a very earthly instrument played in a very earthly fashion. Thus, ever since he began his systematic studies in this field—in fact, ever since the high school boy caught the first glimpse of the problem—the author has felt that a major gap was to be filled with a *short political history of Israel.*

Without its political background the Bible cannot be fully understood and appreciated. The voices of the prophets were the echo of world events. And it is necessary to become acquainted with these events if we want to penetrate to the real meaning of their message. Far from detracting from their greatness, this will add to it. It will bring them nearer to us as contemporaries of a world crisis so closely resembling the present one. Thus, in a sense, they become our contemporaries.

The following pages will show that even when we dissociate the religious from the political history, the prophets dominate the picture. Their spirit permeates everything. So there is no need of being verbose about them.

The plan, accordingly, is simple. The present volume will, in due time, be followed by two companions. The first one is to deal with the political history of Israel under the Judges and the early Kingdom (Saul, David, Solomon); the other will attempt to interpret the Prophets and their message.

Thus, three monographs will be joined into one great panorama in which we behold the phenomenon Israel.

# To the Scholar

But now a word to the scholar in the field of Bible study and the history of the ancient Near East. While this book is smooth reading for the layman, the expert will have a hard time in perusing it. He will notice that *practically every line is based on original research,* quite often yielding entirely new results.

However, there are few, if any, discussions furnishing detailed evidence. He, therefore, is faced with the task of gathering this evidence from both the studies already published by the author and the condensation of numerous unpublished essays and treatises incorporated in this history in such a form that the average reader may not notice the scholarly character of the statements.

Accordingly, the first prerequisite is to be thoroughly familiar with the author's basic *Biblical Chronology I* (1944)[1] and its two supplements, published in 1945, a revised Table II and *Jeroboam II.* It is certainly not enough to check the few references found in the notes.

How careful the learned reader ought to be is best illustrated by the following. One scholar objecting to a single remark in the preliminaries of this book found himself presented with five typewritten pages—single-spaced—of evidence in the form of notes—enough material to fill an article of approximately twenty printed pages. And the same applies to every single contention or opinion in this book, no matter whether generally accepted or new.

Thus, e.g., the *records of Tiglathpileser's campaigns* have

been reinterpreted line for line; and the results are quite different from those commonly accepted. The scholarly reader will have to compare those records with the presentation in this book in order to gather how the author approached them. The same holds true with regard to the records of Adadnirari, the Zakir Stele, the accounts of Sargon, and the famous reports of Sennacherib and the Bible on the siege of Jerusalem in 701 B.C. The number of prophetic passages which appear in a completely new light is not small either.

As to the age of Isaiah, the author has several manuscripts in his desk, such as "Hezekiah and Merodach-Baladan" (presented at the AOS meeting in Washington in 1947) and "The Rod that Smote Philistia" (entire sections of these essays, sketching the historical background of the oracles, have been taken over into this history).

Two of these treatises contribute to our understanding of the age of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. "Herodotus and Our Knowledge of the Ancient Near East" deals with Lydian, Persian, Median, Scythian, and Babylonian chronology and throws light on the world crisis from the disintegration of the Assyrian Empire to the establishment of the Persian dominion under Cyrus and Darius. (Two sections were read at meetings of the AOS) *Nebuchadnezzar's Reconquest of Phoenicia and Palestine and the Oracles of Ezekiel* furnishes new information on the military and political situation during the second half of the reign of the Babylonian ruler. (Two sections were read at meetings of the AOS. It finally appeared [in 1953] in *HUCA*, xxiii, 2, 1950–51.)

Most of these studies have from one third to one half the volume of this book, which they support; and the one on Herodotus, when completed, will approach, if not exceed,

its size. Together with those which at present are merely in the stage of notes and sketches, they might fill several volumes like the present one.

Under prevailing conditions, publication in technical journals would take up ten or more years; thus, the author plans to issue a series of monographs in support of his history. They will enable the interested layman, the teacher, the scholar, the clergyman to go deeper into the matter and examine all the evidence available. The author trusts that these essays will widen and deepen the understanding of the Bible, of the history of the Near East, of early Greek history, and of historiography, and lead to an improvement of the historical method in dealing with Biblical and Classical sources.

Practically nothing in this book has been taken over from its predecessors, and no opinion has been accepted without thorough examination. As a rule, the author has drawn his conclusions directly from the ancient sources before consulting any books. Where he arrived at the same results as others, he certainly would not claim priority—he is not interested in priority but in the truth—but would evaluate it as a confirmation. However, disagreement of other scholars as to some of his new interpretations would not shake his confidence, unless the opponent *proved* his point. (The statement "I cannot believe that that-and-that is so. . . ." certainly is no proof, but evidence of the other's inability to prove his contention.) If such proof is submitted, the author will gratefully acknowledge it as a step forward in our search for the truth.

# A Short Political History of the Divided Kingdom

*A Reader's Companion*

*to the*

*Book of Kings*

# Prooemium

To write a political history of Israel means, necessarily, to neglect its unique contribution to civilization, means to disregard what—according to tradition—the very name of Israel has stood for ever since Jacob was awarded it at the ford of the Jabbok. And yet, by contrast, it makes this uniqueness stand out all the more clearly and distinctly.

The political relations, the play of political forces may appear highly interesting—but merely because they are typical and follow the pattern eternally recurring in history. Seen in this light, the face of Israel shows no marked individuality. Edom and Moab, the neighbor nations, spoke virtually the same language. They were entangled in the same net of intrigues. They were as clever at the game of power politics—and as shortsighted—as Israel and Judah. And when eventually the hour of reckoning came, the Edomites and Moabites—we may be sure—died as heroically on the crumbling bastions of their fortresses as the Israelite and Judean patriots on the walls of Samaria and Jerusalem.

But Edom and Moab disappeared without leaving their mark on history and civilization; and were it not for the Bible, the scanty traces uncovered by the archeologist's spade would be of little interest to us, and it would prove a difficult task to identify the otherwise unknown nations mentioned under the names of Udumu and Muabu in Assyrian records.

Here, one handful of soil thrown by the Creator on the map: Edom; another handful that fell next to it: Moab; there

a third one: Israel—one closely resembling another. The scrutinizing eye cannot discover any differences. And so the produce, satisfying everyday needs, appears identical.

The burning east wind blows—the fruit withers; the soil, dried to dust, whirls through the air; torrential rains sweep away what little is left of it—— Edom is gone, and Moab, and so is Israel.

And lo! That little speck of soil, called Israel, has miraculously brought forth a flower, holding between its petals a new world.

It has survived the destruction of the soil, unaffected by the raging elements—for it has sunk its roots deep into the soul of man.

Whenever we catch a glimpse of that extraordinary flower, we cannot help but marvel at the miracle of its springing from ground so ordinary.

What, then, explains the amazing fertility of so common a soil?

Explicitly to ask this question is not within the scope of the following chapters, much less to answer it. And there will be, indeed, no satisfactory answer—unless we choose to adopt

the prophet's creed:

For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater: So shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall bring about whereto I sent it.

# 1

## From Solomon to Jehu (933-841)

THE THREE CENTURIES from David to the Fall of Samaria, viewed from the angle of political history, appear as the struggle of Israel and Aram-Damascus competing for supremacy in an attempt to weld the numerous tiny kingdoms between the Euphrates and the Red Sea into one powerful state, strong enough to meet Assyria and Egypt on equal terms—a struggle possible only during that "breathing spell of World History" [2] when the major powers of the Near East, exhausted as they were, had temporarily abandoned their relentless drive for world domination. Twice Israel succeeded—under David (c. 990) and under Jeroboam II (c. 775); twice Damascus—under Hazael (c. 800) and under Rezin (c. 735). Then the tidal wave of Assyrian imperialism, which had been advancing and receding since the beginning of the ninth century, swept both contestants away. In 732 Damascus and its kingdom fell; in 722/1, Samaria. Assyrian provinces were established in their stead. The other nations, down to the borders of Egypt, became vassals of Assyria—never to regain their independence.

This is the background from which rose the great prophets; and it is this very background that is to be sketched in the following pages.

**Antecedents**

David, to our knowledge, was the first native ruler in history to bring Syria-Palestine, virtually in its entirety, under his control—a feat all the more remarkable since it was accomplished within two decades. In 1012, after Saul's death at the Battle of Gilboa, an insignificant tribal king of Judah, a vassal of the Philistines, David is by 990 the independent ruler of re-united Israel, lord of Edom, Moab, Ammon, of Aram-Damascus and of the northern Syrian states, deep into the Orontes Valley, with the fringes of his empire touching the Euphrates.[3] The Philistines are thoroughly defeated, though for reasons unknown—probably Egyptian intercession—not subjugated, and Phoenicia, while independent, is most anxious to cooperate with the powerful conqueror who controls virtually all the trade routes to the hinterland.

But soon after the accession of Solomon (973/2) the situation changes. Hadad, the only survivor of the royal house of Edom, returns from his refuge in Egypt, reclaiming the throne of his fathers; and though full success is denied to him, his forays from inaccessible mountain resorts permanently tie up sizable forces entrusted with the protection of the trade routes to the Red Sea and the copper mines in the Arabah. Now an adventurer, Rezon, a former officer of King Hadadezer of Aram-Zobah, avails himself of the favorable opportunity, seizes the city of Damascus, and founds a new kingdom. We need not doubt that Solomon's influence still extended to the Euphrates. However, the weakened status of Israel is clearly reflected by the fact that Tyre is

able to drive a hard bargain for her services rendered to Solomon, who no longer controls the market of Damascus and the important trade routes converging on it.

Even so, Damascus might not have proved a definitive loss if internal tensions and foreign intrigues (Jeroboam too had been sheltered by the Pharaoh) had not brought about the collapse of David's empire immediately after Solomon's death in 933.[4] REHOBOAM, his son and successor (933–917), was by no means a young fool, but a mature man of forty-one years who realized that the reawakening of Egypt called for protection of the frontier by a chain of fortresses, involving an increase in taxes and forced labor. Only master diplomacy could have accomplished the well-nigh impossible feat of reconciling this dire strategical necessity with the short-sighted, though understandable, desire of his northern subjects for relief; and, apparently, the young king lacked entirely the gift of diplomatic persuasion. Thus Israel and Judah parted, and the empire fell to pieces. Moab, Ammon, and the Syrian states regained their independence, with Moab's northward advance into the territory between Arnon and Jabbok growing into a major threat which had to be checked by the fortification of the Jabbok line at the ford of Penuel.[5] In order to render the breach between North and South irrevocable, the usurper JEROBOAM (933–911), reviving old Ephraimite customs, shifted the New Year's Day from fall to spring, emphasizing the great spring festival celebrated, in commemoration of Israel's early beginnings, in honor of the bull-shaped god in the national sanctuary established in Bethel.[6]

Now the crafty rulers of Damascus, changing sides according to circumstances, began playing the game of power politics to their own advantage. In the beginning, of

course, Rezon of Damascus and Jeroboam of Israel must have been on friendly terms, since both, interested in preventing the king of Jerusalem from reconstructing his shattered empire, were absorbed in consolidating their young kingdoms. However, in 929, the Egyptian invasion, anticipated by Rehoboam, while crushing Judah, upset the balance of power. Even Jeroboam, the Pharaoh's protégé, had to taste his protector's "friendship" when some Israelite districts too were ravaged. For Shishak's campaign was not primarily meant to help Jeroboam. It was, rather, a deliberate attempt at reasserting Egypt's dormant claim to the overlordship of Palestine. But as the invader withdrew without returning, it became imperative for Damascus to prevent the King of Israel from conquering weakened Judah.

**Aram Exploits the Judeo-Israelite Rift**

Rehoboam, in the course of reorganizing his kingdom and stabilizing his throne, appointed, in 923, ABIJAH, his young son, *coregent* in Jerusalem. Apparently about that time, Tabrimmon of Damascus deemed it necessary to conclude an alliance with Judah. This strengthened the Southern Kingdom so much that, when the inevitable clash came, Abijah was able to administer a severe defeat to Jeroboam and to annex a strip of Israelite territory including the important sanctuary of Bethel.[7] As 1 K. 15:6 indicates, he accomplished this in the lifetime of his father, before (in 917) ascending the throne in his own right (917–914). Though our records are silent, it goes without saying that Damascus received compensations.

Jeroboam never recovered from the blow (2 Ch. 13:20). In 913 he made his son NADAB coregent in a vain attempt to save his dynasty. For after Jeroboam's death, in 911/10, the young king was not able to maintain his position for more

than two years (910–909).[7a] During a siege of the Philistine city of Gibbethon his general BAASHA (909–886) murdered him and usurped the crown.

Asa—Baasha—Omri

Soon Damascus was to be faced with a situation that made changing sides advisable. Abijah's successor (his brother, not his son), ASA (914–874), devoted the comparatively long period of peace to an extensive defense program. He reorganized the army and built strong fortifications in Judah; and he scored a first success when repulsing raiders from the south (Zerah the Cushite).[8] It seems that his prestige, enhanced by the cult reform of 901, began to attract the northern tribes, threatening the sister kingdom with disintegration.

Damascus certainly had profited from the weakening of her neighbor Israel and therefore, no doubt, had favored the overthrow of the dynasty of Jeroboam. Now growing apprehensive, it concluded an alliance with the usurper Baasha which enabled him, through Omri, his general, to undo Moab's conquests in Gilead in Transjordania (c. 895) and to gather enough strength for a successful attack on Asa (c. 888), retrieving the territory lost to Abijah.[9] Asa, cut off in Jerusalem, seems to be doomed. In this predicament he decides to send a rich gift (or was it a tribute?)[10] to Benhadad, the son of Tabrimmon, of Damascus, urging him to renew the Syro-Judean treaty of their predecessors. The Syrian king, unwilling to see the Israelite conquer Jerusalem, readily accepts the offer, breaks his pact with Baasha, and invades northern Israel. Thus Baasha, seeing his plans thwarted, has to give up his campaign in order to meet the threat to his rear. Though no details are known, it is not unlikely that Damascus retained part of the occupied

territory. Asa, at least, annexed some additional border districts of Ephraim (2 Ch. 17:2).

Baasha died one or two years later, leaving the throne, undermined by his defeat, to his son ELAH (886–885), who, after a reign of less than two years, was murdered by ZIMRI. However, the army besieging Gibbethon proclaimed their general, OMRI (885–874), king over Israel, and Zimri, unable to defend his residence Tirzah against their attack, set his palace afire and died in the flames on the seventh day of his rule.

But the victory was not yet Omri's. For almost six years he had to fight a rival, Tibni, and his brother Joram.[11] Ithobaal of Tyre (888–856)—likewise a usurper—seems to have lent him support. When Omri emerged from the struggle as the sole king of Israel, this friendship was sealed by the marriage of the crown prince Ahab with Ithobaal's daughter Jezebel (c. 880). With the eye of a great ruler, the new king now selected a site of strategic and economic importance for his new capital, *Samaria,* which he and his successors were to convert into an almost impregnable fortress. Soon afterwards (c. 878) Moab, on the other side of the Jordan, was subjugated. Israel is rising again. The successful ruler's name becomes that of his creation, his kingdom. Until the Fall of Samaria, Assyrian records refer to it as Bit-Humria, House of Omri.

**Hegemony of Damascus**

But Damascus now had the supremacy. Possibly as the price of his recognition, possibly by threat of war or through actual war, did Benhadad's successor (name unknown)[12] exact from Omri territorial and economic concessions, such as the establishment of special Syrian business quarters in Samaria. In fact, it would almost appear as if Israel had to acknowledge the suzerainty of Aram—if not *de jure,* then

at least *de facto;* for the message of Benhadad II to Ahab was couched in a language reminiscent of that of an overlord addressing his vassal. The power of the Syrian king is also reflected by the fact that thirty-two kings are mentioned under his command.[13]

Being now the leading power south of the Lebanon, with her influence most likely extending farther north, Damascus had to take the lead in facing the grave threat of *reawakening Assyrian imperialism*—and her king indeed was willing to live up to his historic responsibilities. By force and persuasion he tried to unite Syria-Palestine in its entirety into one bloc strong enough to resist the aggressor.

Ashurnasirpal (884–859) of Assyria early in his reign had subdued the Aramean states near the Euphrates. Then, in 875 (or slightly later),[14] smashing the North Syrian states, he broke through the Orontes Valley to the shores of the Mediterranean. Terrified, the Phoenician kings, among them Ahab's father-in-law, Ithobaal of Tyre, paid tribute to the conqueror. Greatly alarmed, the Palestinian kingdoms and principalities prepared for the moment when the storm would break. We know little about the extensive diplomatic and military activities of Damascus during those years. But in 853 we find her king, Benhadad II, at the head of a powerful coalition embracing the major states and their satellites from Hamath on the Orontes in the north to Israel in the south.

The Biblical report of his conflict with Ahab of Israel demonstrates the difficulties he had to overcome in shaping the league. While the attention of Damascus was focused on the Assyrian danger, Omri's son, AHAB (874–853), carried out a masterful move through which he brought Judah, the former satellite of Syria, into his fold. He put an end to the conflict between

**The Rise of Ahab**

II.

## A. The Empire of David and Solomon

**Heavy Dots** Judah-Israel ("All Israel") and David's conquests

**Small Dots** (Northern loop): "The fringes of the empire, i.e., territory of tributaries and satellites—exact extent unknown—area possibly

*Disintegration:* (1) Under Solomon: *Damascus* (Rezon) gains independence—guerrilla in Edom—but Solomon retains control of Zobah and the northern "fringes."

(2) 933 B.C.: Division of the Kingdom—*Moab, Ammon* independent, exert pressure on Gilead—Moab crosses the Arnon—against the increasing danger, Jeroboam fortifies the Jabbok line at *Penuel*—northern "fringes" lost—Damascus gains Zoba, becomes the leading power in the northern part of the empire—c. 888: Damascus occupies northern sections of Israel.

## B. The Bloc Created by Ahab—869 B.C.

I. *Growth* *(Horizontal shading)*

c. 895 Omri, Baasha's general, drives Moab behind the Arnon
c. 888 Benhadad of Damascus, allied with Asa of Judah, invades and occupies Northeastern Israel
885 Omri becomes King
c. 878 King Omri reduces Moab to vassalship
c. 875 Ashurnasirpal in Syria
874 Ahab becomes King
869 Ahab-Josaphat treaty creates a virtually *United Kingdom: Judah-Israel* controlling *Edom* (through Judah) and *Moab*
856 and 855 Syr. Wars 1 and 2: Ahab victor, regains lost territory
853 summer, *Karkar:* Syrian coalition stops Shalmaneser

II. *Disintegration*

853 fall, *Ramoth:* Ahab killed—revolt of Mesha of Moab
850 Mesha defends independence against Judah-Israel
845± Edom regains independence.
841 Jehu destroys the House of Omri
c. 841–c. 830 Mesha conquers Southern Gilead
c. 837 Hazael of Damascus increases pressure on Israel
836 Judah independent (Joash)

North and South. A pact was concluded which virtually effected an *Anschluss* of Judah. Not later than 865/4 the new friendship was cemented by the marriage of the Judean crown prince, Joram, only sixteen years old, to Athaliah, the young daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. So epoch-making was the change in the status of Judah that her king, JOSAPHAT (874–849), as it seems, started a new count of his regnal years (1 K. 22:52; 2 K. 3:1), which would enable us to date the treaty in 869.[15] We might well imagine that on that very occasion the betrothal of the royal children took place.

A solid bloc, reaching from the Red Sea and the Egyptian frontier to the border of Damascus, was now at Ahab's command, since Israel controlled Moab, while Josaphat tightened Judah's rule over Edom. Even parts of Philistia were subdued. With important trade routes under his control and Tyrian friendship secured by family ties, he had great resources at his disposal, which enabled him to spend large amounts on the fortifications of his capital and numerous towns throughout the country, improving thus his strategic position. The fragments of his ivory palace (1 K. 22:39), dug up by the archeologist's spade, testify to this day to the power of the son of Omri.

**Aram Attacks Ahab**

Be it now that Ahab, in the hope of exploiting the situation to his advantage, balked at joining the anti-Assyrian coalition; be it that the new king of Damascus, Benhadad II, alarmed by the growth of a rival who formerly had been in a state of dependency, felt it imperative to reduce him to impotence before turning against Assyria—at any rate, in the spring of 856 the Syrian armies, sweeping over the entire country of Israel, invested Samaria. Ahab was ready to capitulate under terms most humiliating—the kind

dictated to a vassal to be punished for rebellion—when the king of Aram, by increasing his demands, over-reached himself. Ahab decided to fight and with "the daring and wisdom of desperation" led his forces to victory over the vastly superior but overconfident enemy.

Samaria was saved; but the Syrian still held most of the country, down to Aphek in the Plain of Sharon,[16] outflanking the capital. There, in the following spring, a new powerful army arrayed for battle was defeated so decisively by Ahab that Benhadad surrendered unconditionally. But now the Israelite king demonstrated a statesmanlike sense of proportion. Not strong enough to hold Damascus under his domination, he realized that any move in that direction would lead to chaos, since it would entail defection of her vassals. To weaken her would have meant undermining the cornerstone of the anti-Assyrian bloc. So he decided for a peace without annexations, demanding merely trade privileges and return of the Israelite territory lost by his predecessors. Thus the peace treaty provided for the establishment of special Israelite business quarters in Damascus—a concession of great economic value; greater, no doubt, than that of the Syrian bazaars in Samaria. Now Ahab was ready to do as a "brother," i.e. ally, what he had refused to do as a vassal—he joined the league against Assyria.

**Karkar and Ramoth-Gilead**

Less than two years were left for preparations. Then, in 853, we find a coalition of "twelve kings"—Ahab of Israel and Irhuleni of Hamath among them—lined up under the leadership of Benhadad of Aram at Karkar on the Orontes (north of Hamath)—an attempt to seal off the bottleneck through which the armies of Shalmaneser III of Assyria (859–824) would have to pass before invading Palestine. Though de-

III.

Benhadad and Ahab—Karkar

A. *The Syro-Israelite coalition against Shalmaneser III and its potential allies*

Three sections:

a. *In the south*

The bloc created by Ahab (black, round dots), viz., *Israel* with *Moab* and *Judah* with *Edom.*

b. *Center* (circle border):

*Aram-Damascus* with allies and vassals, viz., *Hamath, Arvad, Arabs, Ammon,* and the fragments of the northern tier: *Que,* and other nations not readily identifiable: *Musri* (a section of Tabal?), *Irkanateans, Usanateans, Shianeans*

c. *In the north* (heavy broken line)

Originally, actual or potential allies of Benhadad II:

Some fifty years later, the majority (marked *) actually were under the command of Benhadad III.

*Bīt Adini, Hilakku, Comagene, Carchemish, Gurgum*, Samal*, Hattina*, Arpad*, Melitene*, Que*, Aleppo*

Black: states severed from the bloc by Shalmaneser's strategy

B. *Shalmaneser's strategy, 859–853* B.C.

1. Campaigns in Urartu (Armenia) protect his rear.
2. He creates a broad springboard by conquering the kingdom of Bīt Adini (between Balih River and Euphrates), with its bridgeheads on the Euphrates.
3. He shatters the northern tier of Syrian states and paralyzes them (with exception of Que) at least temporarily—some, like *Aleppo,* in the very last moment before the clash at *Karkar.*

That is exactly the time during which Benhadad is struggling to overcome the resistance of Ahab (856-55), before center and south are joined in an anti-Assyrian coalition—too late to ally themselves with the northern group.

feated in the field, they scored a major success—Shalmaneser discontinued his march to the south.

With their objective reached and the immediate danger eliminated, the allies turned to their old squabbles. Ahab, having suffered smaller losses than Benhadad, considered it the right moment to claim Ramoth-Gilead.[17] Obviously in the expectation of conquering it in a short fall campaign, he directed his forces and those of Josaphat of Judah against the city but was killed in battle (fall, 853). Israel, left without a shepherd—as predicted by Micaiah ben Imlah—had to abandon the campaign.

Vigorous and able a monarch though he was, Ahab is bitterly denounced by the Bible as "the one who upset Israel," making its clear waters murky. And indeed, he was on the way to bring about a revolution which would have changed the character of Israel. Under the strong influence of his wife, the Phoenician princess Jezebel, he granted the cult of the Tyrian Baal such privileges that it might have superseded that of the God of Israel. Moreover, under the same influence—as illustrated by the story of Naboth's vineyard—the development of the monarchy showed a definite trend toward despotism, a form of government utterly incompatible with the idea of the God of Justice. The people must have sensed what was at stake; for the man who opposed him, *Elijah*, grew in popular belief into a mythical figure of cosmic stature—the immortal symbol of the eternity of his people and its meaning for the world.

**Decline**

The death of the energetic ruler entailed the breakdown of the system built by him. King Mesha of Moab now threw off the yoke of servitude, stopped paying tribute and began extending his power into southern Gilead.[18] Even Josaphat of Judah, who, immediately after

the catastrophe of Ahab, had stabilized his throne by appointing Joram, his son, coregent, made a gesture of independence when rejecting Ahaziah's offer to share in the planned (however abortive) Ophir expedition.

AHAZIAH, Ahab's son (853–852), owing to an accident which led to his death within less than twelve months after his accession,[19] could do nothing about it. JORAM (852–841), his brother and successor, finally, after two years of preparation, undertook an expedition against Moab. Supported by Josaphat of Judah and his vassal, the King of Edom, he defeated Mesha in battle. But he was unable to take all his fortresses (850). While Israel was suffering from continuous Syrian raids (as we have to infer from the Elisha stories), Mesha step by step increased his power, and when, after one decade, he had the satisfaction of seeing the utter destruction of the House of Omri, he dedicated to his god Chemosh the famous stele with the record of his achievements.[20]

During the same period Judah gradually lost control of Edom. Josaphat had first tightened his rule over the neighbor state. Still in 852, at the time of his preparations for the Ophir expedition, the administration of the country was in the hands of a governor (1 K. 22:48). But then conditions seem to have deteriorated so much that a change in the status of the country into a vassal monarchy was required. For only two years later, we find a *king* of Edom participating with his overlord, Josaphat of Judah, in the campaign against Moab. However, this concession did not stave off the revolt, which came under his successor JORAM (849–842). Under a king of their own choosing, the Edomites won and defended their independence. They were to maintain it for almost sixty years.

Judah apparently was paralyzed by internal tensions. It seems that there was strong opposition to Joram, the husband of Athaliah, who represented the influence of Tyre and the policy of *Anschluss* to the Israel of Ahab and Jezebel. Indeed, this might have been one of the reasons that prompted Josaphat to secure the throne for him by making him coregent in 853. However, after his father's death, the young king felt that there was only one means of forestalling a dynastic revolution staged by the opposition. So he murdered all his brothers and some members of the nobility. The power of Judah sank to its lowest level. He was even unable to ward off the attacks of Philistine and Arab marauders who either killed or carried away part of his family. When he died after a grave illness, "nobody mourned after him." The hatred of his subjects was so great that they considered him unworthy of being buried in the sepulchres of the kings of Judah.

But soon after his son AHAZIAH (842–841) had ascended the throne, there were signs of recovery. Joram of Israel held that the moment had come to regain Ramoth-Gilead. Since the Battle of Karkar, the Syrian league of "twelve nations," led by Benhadad of Damascus and Irhuleni of Hamath, co-operating with Urartu (Armenia), Assyria's northern opponent, had thrice clashed with Shalmaneser (849, 848, 845). Each time the Assyrian had emerged victorious. Now the coalition began to disintegrate.[21] Hazael, "a son of a nobody," murdered Benhadad during an illness and usurped the throne of Damascus (c. 843–c. 800). But, being without allies, he was, in 841, defeated by Shalmaneser, who this time succeeded in shutting him off in his capital.

Revolution

This sets the stage for an exciting drama in Israel—the

catastrophe of the House of Omri. While Damascus is in dire straits, fighting for her very life, Joram of Israel, supported by his nephew, Ahaziah of Judah, attacks and conquers Ramoth-Gilead (summer, 841). In order to have his wounds cured, he then returns to Jezreel, his residence. When Ahaziah too leaves the battlefield to pay his uncle a visit, the prophetic party, led by Elijah's disciple Elisha (one of the men behind the court revolt in Damascus), scores a final success. The army acclaims their commander *Jehu* king. The usurper races to Jezreel, kills Joram and murders even Ahaziah and numerous princes of Judah. Jezebel, the king's mother, ready to die as befits a queen, proudly defies him. Thrown from the window at his order, she finds her death on the pavement of the palace court. Then he turns to Samaria. Every member of the king's family is slain, and so are the priests and prophets of Baal. The reform party triumphs. The hated dynasty has met with disaster. All vestiges of its labors and endeavors are wiped out, with nothing left but one mighty monument—the powerful fortress of Samaria.

Palestine and Syria lay a shambles at the feet of the Assyrian conqueror. Shortsighted rivalry and internecine warfare had been his most reliable and powerful allies. Toward the end of the summer of 841, Shalmaneser received the tribute of Tyre, of Sidon, and of Jehu of Bit Humria. By accepting it he recognized him as vassal ruler of Israel. Carved in stone, the act of submission is depicted in four reliefs on the famous black obelisk found one hundred years ago by Austen Henry Layard in the ruins of Calah, Shalmaneser's residence.

# 2

## The House of Jehu (841-747)

THE OUTLINES OF THE PICTURE are clear and simple. As Assyria, Jehu's protector, for one generation withdraws from the West, Hazael of Damascus threshes Israel to dust. By the end of the century he is lord of all the lands south of the Lebanon and the acknowledged leader of the Syrian states up to the Taurus and the Euphrates. Then Assyrian pressure begins to tell. His son, Benhadad III, is unable to maintain this position for long. In c. 790, Joash of Israel, Jehu's grandson, is sufficiently prepared to launch a series of successful counterattacks. Soon the roles have changed. Joash's son, Jeroboam II, controls all Palestine, and for a brief period even Damascus and Hamath have to submit to his rule. The crest of his power is reached about 770. Then the Syrian states cast off his yoke and become increasingly aggressive under the leadership of the new king of Damascus, Rezin.

In 761, when Amos raises his warning voice, complacency does not yet see the flaws and cracks hidden under the sparkling varnish of prosperity. But one decade later

the kingdom of Jeroboam has practically disintegrated. While court revolts are tearing the country to shreds, Judah regains her independence. When Jeroboam dies, in 748, Israel is writhing in death throes. The stage is set for the last scene of the tragedy.

* * *

**Jehu and Athaliah**

The usurper JEHU (841–820), prompted in his undertakings more by ambition than by religious zeal, was soon to disappoint the reform party, which at first, in the person of Jonadab ben Rechab, naïvely associated with him. To destroy Baal-worship, whose political and religious aspects were equally unpopular, was a means of gaining general support—and he himself might have been quite sincere about it. However, to challenge public opinion by changing the form of the YHWH cult established by Jeroboam I, now sanctified by tradition, was quite another thing. No matter how he felt about it at heart, he was unwilling to take that risk. It might have been this disheartening experience that drove Jonadab into founding the radical sect of the Rechabites.

It seems that Jehu of Israel claimed—and for a short time also obtained—the crown of Judah. He murdered not only Joram of Israel and the entire House of Ahab,[22] but likewise Ahaziah of Judah and as many Judean princes as he could lay his hands on. And here the puzzle of ATHALIAH fits into the picture. When slaying every potential pretender to the throne of David—seemingly as senseless a feat as we could imagine—she did precisely what a henchman of the Israelite usurper would have done: she removed every obstacle from his way to the throne by exterminating the old dynasty. Her son Ahaziah was dead.[22a] The flower of

the mobilized Judean army was under Jehu's control at Ramoth-Gilead. Her chances of survival were slim, unless she co-operated with the murderer of her son, her brother, her mother, and her entire family—for the time being at least. (Not rarely in history has dynastic policy dictated such steps, outrageous in our eyes.) Thus, she reigned in Judah as his deputy queen.

That this was the case is evidenced by two facts.[23] Her six years were added to the twenty-two regnal years of Jehu (bringing his total up to twenty-eight); and her overthrow came precisely at the time when Jehu's position began to be weakened by the first blows dealt by Hazael of Damascus.

**Hazael**

Hazael had hardly recovered from his severe defeat in 841, when Shalmaneser, in 838, struck again, seizing four of his cities. But that was the last appearance of the conqueror in Syria. Other tasks, and finally a court revolt in his own house, which only his successor was able to overcome, tied him down in Assyria. As soon as the king of Aram was sure that the invader would not return—and he certainly had his connections with Urartu (Armenia) and Media, Assyria's opponents—and before Jehu could consolidate his kingdom, he must have launched his attacks on Israel (837 or 836). The repercussions were felt immediately. The following year brought about the fall of Athaliah (winter, 836/5). Judah was lost to Jehu, his rule severely shaken.

The Israelite king was helpless. Shalmaneser, his protector, stayed beyond reach, and not before the end of the century did Assyria reassert herself in the West. Hazael had a free hand and was to use it with remarkable energy. In campaign after campaign he conquered all the territory east of the Jordan, down to the Arnon—which means that Moab

lost again the short-lived conquests of Mesha. It was of no avail that Jehu, in 821, made his son JOAHAZ coregent. For under the young king's reign (819–803) Israel was reduced to insignificance. Completely disarmed, she was allowed a mere police force of only fifty horse, ten chariots (an appalling contrast to the 2,000 chariots of Ahab at Karkar), and 10,000 foot. So distressing was her plight that the ancient chronicler could not help adding to his description that it did not remain so forever. But the time when her "savior," Jeroboam, would come was yet far off.[24]

There can be little doubt that Moab, after a short period of independence, now passed under the yoke of Damascus, and so did Philistia. Judah, as we shall see, was unable to resist, and Edom under these circumstances can hardly have retained her full freedom. The North Syrian states, up to the Taurus and Euphrates, accepted the leadership, if not suzerainty, of Aram; for not long after Hazael's death we find them joined to a league under the command of his son, Benhadad III.

**Decline of Damascus**

But the power of Damascus was again to be shaken by Assyria. Adadnirari III (811–783) undertook at least four campaigns (in 805, 804, 802, 796) into Syria and the westland, during which he claims to have received the submission and the tribute of northern Syria, Tyre, Sidon, Israel, Edom, and Philistia, priding himself with particular emphasis on having subdued *Mari,* i.e. *the lord,* of Damascus. In tallying his summary accounts with Biblical reports and a Syrian inscription,[25] we may piece together the following picture.

The first expeditions have the aim of severing the vassals and satellites from the Aramean bloc in preparation for the blow to be struck against Damascus. But no sooner have the

Assyrian armies withdrawn than Hazael, now about seventy years old, with remarkable resilience recovers lost ground and punishes the rebellious vassals. In the spring of 801 we find him in Philistia.[26] He conquers Gath and, during the siege, sends a detachment against Jerusalem, whose king, Joash, unable to resist, pays a heavy tribute. Benhadad III, Hazael's son, in the early years of his reign successfully continues this policy. We meet him in the famous Elisha story of Samaria's miraculous deliverance from a siege which is on the very point of breaking its resistance by hunger (2 K. 6: 24–7:20), an event to be dated shortly before or after the Assyrian campaign of 796. The rumor of the Hittite, i.e., North Syrian, kings coming to relieve Samaria causes him, so we are told, to raise the siege. Be it that this rumor referred to Adadnirari's expedition of 796; be it that Benhadad's former satellites, now pro-Assyrian, threatened to rise, or actually had risen in his rear—the description largely fits the circumstances. For here an archeological find, the *Zakir Stele,* furnishes the missing piece in the puzzle.

Zakir, obviously pro-Assyrian-minded, had risen from insignificance to the rank of King of Hamath. He reports how a coalition of seventeen Syrian kings, led by "Benhadad, son of Hazael, King of Aram," besieged him in the city of Hazrak, whose plight became as desperate as that of Samaria. But his god, "the god of heaven," heard his prayers and advised him through seers and oracles to hold out. (We are reminded of the functions of Elisha and Isaiah in similar situations.) So he defeated his enemy.

His accession to the throne could well have been a result of Adadnirari's early campaigns; the attack on Hazrak, like that on Samaria, then would illustrate the attempt of Damascus to regain control of the former vassals; and his victory

could be explained by the new Assyrian offensive against Aram in 796.[27] At any rate, the rise of this or other pro-Assyrian "Hittites"—or even the mere possibility of such a rebellion—could actually account for the rumor that caused Benhadad abruptly to end the siege of Samaria. On the other hand, the recovery of Israel, which now began under Joahaz's son, JOASH (803–788), might have caused a digression in the rear of the Syrian armies that compelled Benhadad to relieve the pressure on such "Hittite" rebels as Zakir.

**Israel recovers**

When the Assyrian king, between 805 and 802, freed Israel from Syrian domination, the removal of the disarmament clause was, of course, an essential stipulation. Now, after fifteen years of preparation and unsuccessful attempts, Joash was ready to strike. In 791 he appointed his son, the later Jeroboam II, coregent; and in the same or in the following year he launched his offensive against Damascus which, as supposedly predicted by Elisha, was victorious. In three campaigns (790, 789, 788) he defeated Benhadad and retrieved all Israelite territory formerly lost to Syria. In the fall of 788, shortly before his death, he won a decisive victory over Amaziah of Judah which put the sister kingdom at his feet.

God had given a "savior" to Israel, the young coregent, who is to be credited with these amazing successes. When in the following spring he ascended the throne in his own right, he had already accomplished the basic part of the program of Jeroboam, the founder of the kingdom. He had re-established Israel in its old boundaries and re-united North and South under his rule. Thus, on his accession to the throne—as is not unlikely—he chose a new name under which he was to reign from 787 to 748: the founder's name, JEROBOAM.

IV.

The Empire of Hazael of Damascus circa 800 B.C.

A. *Growth*—c. 836–c. 805

By 805, Hazael (c. 843–c. 800) dominates all three groups which fifty years previously had been the actual or potential opponents of Assyria at Karkar.

1. All states on either side of the Jordan are either tributaries or satellites, particularly *Israel, Judah, Moab, Ammon, Edom,* and at least *Northern Philistia.*

2. *To the north,* his influence extends *as far as Melitene:*

   For, a few years after *Hazael's* death, we find *Arpad, Que, Amq, Samal, Gurgum, Melitene,* and a few more states (names either lost or only summarily mentioned) under the command of his son Benhadad III (Zakir stele) (See note 25.)

3. *In the center,* accordingly, *Hamath and Hatarika* must have been included in the bloc.

B. *Disintegration*

805–802 The campaigns of Adadnirari III split the vassals from the Syrian bloc:

*In the south:* at least *Philistia, Edom,* and *Israel* are freed and *Tyre* and *Sidon* are drawn into the Assyrian fold.

*In the center:*
*Hamath* and *Hatarika* are freed from Hazael's domination and the pro-Assyrian kingdom of Zakir is established.

*In the north:*
The "Hatti" allies, at least temporarily, submit to Adadnirari.

C. *Temporary Recovery*

801 Hazael, sweeping down, re-establishes his dominion over *Philistia, Judah,* and (most likely also) *Edom.*

D. *Collapse*

800–796 His son Benhadad III, still in command of the North Syrian group, tries to force Zakir of Hamath and Joash of Israel *(vertical shading)* back into the anti-Assyrian bloc:

Abortive *sieges of Samaria* and *Hazrak.*

*Horizontal shading:* The members of the coalition ag. Zakir. (See n. 25)

796 A new Assyrian attack breaks the power of Damascus.

790 Israel—led by the crown prince and co-regent *Jeroboam*—starts offensive which finally (c. 775) leads to *annexation of Damascus and Hamath* to the United Kingdom Judah–Israel.

At this point we must review the history of Judah. In the winter of 836, when conditions, as we have seen, favored a *coup d'état,* the priest Joiada placed his foster son, JOASH (841–801), a boy of seven years, on the throne. His wife Josheba, a sister of the murdered king Ahaziah, had in 841 saved her baby nephew from the sword of Athaliah. Now the people entered into a covenant with the young king. Athaliah and her aids were executed. The record of her reign was expunged from the annals of the kingdom, and the regnal years of the new king were counted as if he had been on the throne since the death of his father. Jehu's claims thus were eliminated. Temple and cult of Baal suffered destruction. But no further reforms were carried out. We merely learn about some administrative measures concerning the income of the priests and the upkeep of the Temple building.

Judah 841–787

Joiada, of course, saw to it that the young monarch married early.[28] Thus, when Joash was only sixteen years old, the heir apparent was born. During the latter part of his reign he seems to have introduced foreign cults, an indication that closer relations to other nations were established. The violent opposition of the prophetic party was drowned in blood, which badly affected the king's popularity. But, though Jehu's overlordship had been cast off, Judah was an insignificant little state that could not remain outside the sphere of influence of Hazael's Damascus. Finally, in the spring of 801, the Syrian, during the aforementioned punitive expedition against Philistia, exacted such a heavy tribute from Judah that Joash did not survive the humiliation. The Syrians had scarcely withdrawn, when the king was murdered by some of his servants.

AMAZIAH (801–774), his son, with his first decree erected

a landmark in the history of civilization. A law which up to that time had been disregarded now was re-enacted. He condemned his father's murderers to death, but did not execute their children—a challenge to the established customs of his time. The idea of individual responsibility was breaking through.

As weakened Damascus now was exhausting her energies in trying to hold Israel and North Syria under her control, the young king seized the opportunity and reorganized the Judean army. Then, when in the years 791–788 Joash of Israel and Benhadad were locked in battle, Amaziah, seeing that neither could possibly intervene, undertook an expedition against Edom (c. 788), crushed their army, and conquered Petra, dominating the road to the copper mines in the Arabah and to the Red Sea. Under a new name he made it a strong fortress.

But now, flushed with success, he had the ambitious idea of re-uniting North and South under his rule. He challenged Joash. Battle was joined at Bethshemesh (southwest of Jerusalem)—and the conqueror of Edom, thoroughly defeated, was captured by the conqueror of Aram (787 W). Jerusalem capitulated. She lost her rank as a ruling city. A breach was made in her walls through which victorious Joash rode in triumph.

**Jeroboam II**

However, shortly after his victory the king of Israel died, and in the next spring the coregent, his son, ascended the throne under the name of Jeroboam II (787–748). This situation afforded the leaders of the people of Judah the opportunity for a *coup d'état.* Amaziah, discredited by his defeat and by his subservience to the victor, was deposed, and his son AZARIAH (787–736), only sixteen years of age, was proclaimed king. Jeroboam

refused recognition and so did the followers of Amaziah. The young pretender, therefore, merely "resided" in Judah, as the Greek version correctly puts it.

A highly dramatic struggle ensued—and quite a typical one.[29] After a year of confusion and turmoil, Jeroboam decided to make an end to the rule of the House of David. Amaziah was sent to Lachish (southwest of Jerusalem), there to spend the rest of his life as pensioner, while a personal union of the two states was created. Judah was now merely an administrative unit within Israel.[30] The official term was *Judah in Israel* (2 K. 14:28).

Never was Judah to forget this humiliation. Sixty-five years later, when the Kingdom of Israel is blotted out and Samaria becomes a mere province of the Assyrian Empire, we find an unknown patriot gloating over her fall (Is. 7:8).[31] To him it appears just retaliation that the conqueror inflicts upon her precisely the fate she had tried to impose upon Judah.

Now turning his back to Judah, paralyzed by the struggle of the factions of two rival kings—neither with official authority—Jeroboam exploited his Syrian victories, won when still coregent, and after consolidating his position east of the Jordan—which probably included the subjugation of Ammon and Moab—he conquered and annexed *Damascus*. He did this, no doubt, under the guise of a pro-Assyrian policy with the approval of his overlord, who for the time being was too weak to control Syria and Palestine directly. We know of Assyrian expeditions undertaken by Shalmaneser IV (783–773) and his successor in 775, 773, and 772, to the Cedar Mountains, Damascus, and Hatarika (the Hazrak of Zakir). This could well explain the success of Israel, now also absorbing *Hamath*, which, not long before, under Zakir,

had successfully defended her independence against Ben-hadad of Damascus.

But then, as it seems, Assyria grew suspicious of Jeroboam's designs; and the new campaign against Hatarika in 765 might have been meant to check his growth. Assyrian agents, no doubt, had a hand in fomenting rebellion in the subjugated states. At any rate, by 761, when Amos delivers his message, Damascus is independent again, and so is Hamath; for Israel's power extends only to the "entrance," i.e., the border,[32] of that state, while Damascus appears again in the role of an aggressor.

However, Jeroboam is still a very powerful sovereign. From the border of Hamath to the Red Sea all the lands —with the exception of Phoenicia—are at his command. Damascus still is hemmed in. For not only the district of Lodebar, i.e., northern Gilead up to the Yarmuk, the bone of contention in the time of Ahab, but also that of Qarnaim[33] —no doubt largely identical with the later Assyrian province of Qarnini (roughly: Bashan)—almost reaching to the gates of the Syrian capital, are firmly in his hand (Amos 6:13). The country experiences a period of prosperity. Riches are flowing into the two leading cities, Samaria and Jerusalem. The nobles surround themselves with luxuries which one century before only the king could afford. Social discrimination and social injustice are thriving in this atmosphere. The voice of conscience, God-awakened, the prophet's call, is drowned out in the din of boisterous overconfidence and complacency resounding ever more sonorous as the vessel grows emptier and emptier. Amos sensed that there was no moral strength that could stand the tensions of a world crisis, and predicted the inevitable doom. It actually was to come about within hardly more than a decade.

While Jeroboam thus, for one quarter of a century, was occupied with his Syrian conquests, the young Judean pretender Azariah slowly and patiently climbed the steps to the throne of his fathers. Beginning as a guerilla leader—but the choice of the people—he first concentrated his energies, with the tacit, if not open, consent of his overlord, on Edom and Philistia. Amaziah's, his father's, faction soon was outmaneuvered. Finally, so it seems, the old king—possibly encouraged by Jeroboam—tried to stage a comeback. But his own men conspired against him and slew him. Thus, in the winter of 774, Azariah, now about twenty-nine years old, was undisputed pretender to the crown, accepted by both factions as their unofficial king.

**Azariah becomes Uzziah**

Continuing his activities in the South, he built a fortified seaport, Elath, on the Gulf of Akaba, exploited the copper mines in the Arabah, conquered Gath, Jabneh, and Ashdod in Philistia, tore down their walls and built strong fortresses which he garrisoned with his troops to hold the country under control. He pacified Arabian tribes in the border districts and erected a chain of watchtowers in the desert. Special troops were trained and equipped for this kind of "commando warfare." Jeroboam, too busy with his Syrian worries, probably approved of all this, since it kept the young prince in the South and, at the same time, exterminated the last vestiges of Syrian rule in that region. Since Judah was part of his empire, these conquests were to be considered additions to his realm.[33a]

But suddenly, when the king of Israel met with reverses, losing Hamath and Damascus, with Syria resuming the initiative, Azariah turned around and—either by a coup or with the consent of his overlord, who, for the time being,

saw himself compelled to purchase the co-operation of the Judean by this concession—established himself in Jerusalem. Without delay he strongly fortified the city and equipped it with modern armament. His bargaining power now had so improved that Jeroboam no longer could withhold his recognition as vassal king of Judah. Thus, in the fall of 761, on the Judean New Year's Day, Azariah, changing his name to UZZIAH, solemnly ascended the throne of David. It was the very year in which Amos made his appearance in Bethel.

But soon the triumphant spirit was to be dulled. Owing to the absence of a legal king from Jerusalem for almost one generation, the cult had become a monopoly of the priests. Now Uzziah claimed the old royal prerogative to perform certain rites in the Temple. The priests denied him this right. The conflict was decided in their favor. For in the fall of 759 the luckless king was smitten with leprosy. The rest of his life, twenty-three long years, he had to spend in seclusion. JOTHAM, his son, became regent (759–743).

**Rezin of Damascus**

The man who, after its short eclipse, had refounded the Kingdom of Damascus re-asserted the imperial claims of its founder Rezon by assuming the programmatic name *Rezin*. Now he was to carry out that program. By military and diplomatic measures, inroads into Israelite territory, particularly Transjordania, contacts with subjugated nations, and intrigues within Israel itself, he brought about the collapse of Jeroboam's empire: In 751, PEKAH, a high official, instead of carrying out his duties of defending Transjordania, makes common cause with Damascus and establishes himself in Gilead as pretender to the crown of Israel (751W–731W). "Yet a little while, and I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu!", so cries out Hosea, the prophet—exactly ninety

years after the slaughter of Jezreel. Jeroboam's weak answer to the threat is to make his son *Zechariah* coregent in the following year (750W). But now two more pretenders rise. *Menahem* takes possession of the old royal residence Tirzah, and *Shallum* likewise commands forces strong enough to enable him to claim the throne. *Jotham of Judah*—like the two usurpers taking advantage of the crisis caused by Pekah's defection—now crowns the work of Uzziah, his father, and declares the full *independence of Judah* (fall, 750). As a matter of course, Israel loses control of Ammon and Moab.

The empire of Jeroboam, once so proud, is in ruins; its possessions severed from the trunk, the trunk itself split up into four rival kingdoms, the House of Jehu on the verge of destruction—nightmarish reality is staring at the aged king.

He died two years later, in the winter of 748; and toward the end of the subsequent summer, ZECHARIAH, his son, lost crown and life to SHALLUM, who, in turn, after a reign of only one month, was slain by MENAHEM (747–738). Since the East and probably also the North were in the hands of his rival, Pekah, the Assyrian records no longer call him "King of Bit Humria," but simply *Menahem of Samaria.*

With the fall of the dynasty of Jehu, Israel bows out of history. What follows is a mere epilogue. Whatever chances she might have had to survive as a puppet of Damascus, now rising to supremacy; whatever her hopes one day to see the roles reversed again—none could materialize. "The breathing spell" was spent, irrevocably, without unification of Syria-Palestine being accomplished. The rise of Tiglathpileser, in 745, ushered in a new era—that of the world empires. For more than two hundred years History

was to move again in wide strides—breathtaking her pace—and right at the start, Damascus and Israel, caught under the foot of the colossus, were crushed—a minor incident, meaningful only to the prophet who, trembling, sensed the heavy hammer blows of the Master reshaping His universe in the catastrophic fire of His forge.

V.

The Empire of Jeroboam II

## A. *The Building of the Empire*

791S Jeroboam made coregent of Joash

791–789 Joash defeats Damascus, recovers the territory lost

788W Defeats Judah *(Beth Shemesh)*—dies

786 Jeroboam creates a *United Kingdom:*

JUDAH IN ISRAEL

betw. 785 & 775 he conquers *Damascus* and Hamath (with Hadrach-Hatarika) —Takes over from Damascus control of *Ammon* & *Moab*—dominates highway to Red Sea—Azariah (Uzziah) of Judah gains for the empire *Northern Philistia*—completes conquest of *Edom*—crowns it (after 774) with founding of Red Sea port of *Elath.*

## B. *Disintegration*

c. 765 *Damascus* (Rezin) and *Hamath* regain independence—Hamath taking *Mansuate, Hatarika, Kullani, Simirra*—Damascus seizing *Qarnini, Northern Gilead, Haurina,* and (after 761) *Zobah.*

c. 761 Jeroboam reconquers *Karnaim* (Quarnini) and *Lodebar* (n. Gilead)

761 Fall: J. compelled to recognize Azariah, now *Uzziah,* as vassal king of Judah

betw. 760 & 750 *Ammon* (& Moab?) independent

750W *Judah* (Jotham) gains independence

c. 747 Jotham subjugates Ammon (probably controls Moab)

## C. *Splitting up of the Trunk* (Israel proper)

751W *Pekah* founds kingdom in Gilead, later (747?) seizes Galilee—

750W Jeroboam makes Zechariah *coregent*

749 *Menahem* seizes Tirzah, later Tappuah, dominating the highway east of Samaria —*Shallum* too claims the crown, seizes unidentified territory (Valley of Jezreel?)—Samaria hemmed in.

748W Jeroboam dies—Zechariah king

747 (Sept.) Zechariah slain by Shallum—Sept./Oct.: Shallum slain by Menahem —MENAHEM OF SAMARIA *limited to Israel south of the Tabor* (Galilee w. Pekah)—Jotham of Judah subjugates Ammon.

744 Rezin and Pekah increase pressure on their rivals, Jotham and Menahem—Jotham loses Ammon.

743 Rezin pays tribute to Tiglathpileser in order to have a free hand in Palestine.

740 Menahem becomes Assyrian vassal *(tribute)*—confirmed on the throne.

736S Pekah slays Pekahiah, Menahem's son, reunites Israel under his scepter.

# Interlude:

## REZIN AND THE RISE OF TIGLATHPILESER

HINDSIGHT, MYOPIC TRAIN-BEARER OF HISTORY, priggishly trailing his mistress in the dust, incapable of conceiving that a single one of her steps could have been different, would stamp the seal of disapproval on all attempts at creating a united Syria-Palestine. Did not the course of events prove their utter foolishness? Were they not doomed to failure?

Instead of dogmatically and apodictically declaring that what did not become reality was *a priori* impossible, the sober historian will choose a different approach. He will appraise the situation *as it was,* i.e., as it appeared to the contemporaries and as it must appear to him if he selects a vantage point of observation close enough to the particular juncture which we have reached in the previous chapter. At that moment, at the time when the murder of Zechariah signalized the complete disintegration of Jeroboam's empire, the prospect of a successful solution of that task was most promising. At least, no man of imagination, vigorous and ambitious like Rezin of Damascus, could have been blamed for regarding his chances as favorable. Egypt hardly counted, and Assyria, having been on the downgrade for one genera-

tion, was as weak as in David's time—and there was no indication that her decline would not continue. Nobody could predict that the new revolution of 746, instead of speeding up her fall, would result in the rise of a great conqueror, Tiglathpileser III, who hardly more than a decade later would carry the Assyrian arms to the border of Egypt.

Even after this sudden turn, when Tiglathpileser's victory of 743 made him master of Syria, Rezin could justly feel that the odds were not yet stacked against him. His beginnings had been auspicious. Not only had he rebuilt the power of Damascus, but he had also undermined the state of Jeroboam until it collapsed. Then, together with his satellite Pekah, he had outmaneuvered his potential rivals, Jotham of Judah and Menahem of Israel. Another ten years would give him the control of Palestine in its entirety, and if he could consolidate these gains, Damascus would become the center of gravity for all Syrian states, such as she had been about the beginning of the century. To purchase time, accordingly, was essential; and, astute statesman that he was, he literally did so by paying tribute to the Assyrian in the critical years 743 and 740. Assyrian power was not yet firmly established in Syria. Tiglathpileser met with reverses. The tasks lying ahead were dangerous. Fate could easily overtake him. Any serious defeat in the mountains of Media and Urartu would spell disaster. At any rate, the war could be expected to drag on for years—and it was just this expectation, underestimating the extraordinary boldness and energy of the Assyrian usurper, that was to be disappointed. Rezin had lost the gamble.

We ought to visualize the situation as fascinating and dramatic as it actually was: an insignificant cloud rising in

the north, rapidly turning into a black nimbus, disintegrating again only to re-appear on the horizon darker and more threatening than ever. Would the storm break before Rezin had erected a solid building? The rising waters of the Euphrates—would they overflow before he had time to construct a strong dike?

When the usurper Tiglathpileser, in May, 745, mounted the throne of the Assyrian kings, virtually all of Syria was lost to Assyria. Only a few bridgeheads were held west of the Euphrates. The decay of the empire had reached a critical stage. After his great successes about the turn of the century had brought all the lands as far as the shore of the Red Sea under his sway, Adadnirari had concentrated his attention on Babylonia and the East. To keep the West under control, he chose the indirect method of playing the rival states against one another; and so did his successors, resorting, as we have seen, rarely to interference with armed force. However, in their case this policy was an outgrowth of weakness. Assyria had entered a period of decay. Urartu (Armenia) was relentlessly pressing forward in an effort to drive a wedge between Syria and her suzerain. The imperial forces suffered defeat after defeat; the enemy was raiding not only the border provinces, but even Assyria proper. Pestilence was weakening it. Dissatisfaction spread among the population, suffering directly from the devastation wrought by the enemy and indirectly from the loss of the rich West with its trade routes and the silver and copper mining districts. Revolts ensued. From 763 to 758, Ashurdan III (773–755) was absorbed in fighting the anarchy which threatened his kingdom with destruction. Thus Urartu had a free hand to establish her supremacy in Northern Syria.

**Decline of Assyria Before 745**

There was little hope that this vicious circle could ever be broken. Virtually paralyzed, Ashurnirari V (755–745) hardly ever ventured to leave the land. The campaigns of 754 and 753 against Hatarika and Arpad (near Aleppo) brought only temporary relief, and in 746 a revolution broke out in Calah, the capital, in which the king and his house perished.[34]

**Tiglathpileser Conquers Syria, 743**

Unexpectedly the downward movement came to a standstill. Only two years of military preparations and preliminary campaigns—and the usurper, Tiglathpileser III (May, 745 to January, 726), was ready to wrest Northern Syria from Urartu. By threatening to cut the communications between Armenia and her allies and vassals, he forced the enemy to descend from his mountainous homeland into the hilly border districts of Comagene (where the Taurus forces the Upper Euphrates into an eastward bend) and to fight far from his operational bases. Battle was joined early in 743, and the Assyrian arms carried the victory over the coalition. Sardurri of Urartu, suffering disastrous losses, escaped into Armenia, never again to take up the offensive. Syrian resistance collapsed.[35] Arpad opened its gates. There Tiglathpileser received the tribute of the former vassals and allies of Urartu (with the exception of Melitene, the northernmost) and likewise of those who had been in their shadow, as their satellites or as non-belligerents. As Hamath had remained pro-Assyrian, the road was cleared for an invasion of Aram-Damascus and Southern Phoenicia. So *Rezin of Damascus* and Hiram of Tyre hastened to join the others in offering tribute.

With one stroke practically all of Syria had come under Tiglathpileser's sway. Only the kingdom of Unqui, west of the main highway to the south, blocking the access to the

A. 743 B.C. *Battle of Halpi in Comagene*
Victory over Urartu and her North Syrian vassals and allies *(vertical shading):*

1. Mati-ilu of Arpad; 2. Sulumal of Melitene (controlling Kammanu); 3. Tarhulara of Gurgum; 4. Kushtashpi of Kummuh (Comagene).

*Arpad occupied* by Tiglathpileser (either before or after the victory), since its king—leading his army to the battlefield in Comagene—had left it behind under the protection of weak forces—*Arpad becomes Assyrian province.*

*Tribute* (received in Arpad)

1. *Rezin of Aram* (controlling his satellite Pekah)
2. Kushtashpi of Kummuh
3. Hiram of Tyre
4. Uriaik of Que
5. Pisiris of Carchemish
6. Tarhulara of Gurgum

*(Square dots* = Borders of the tributary states, encompassing the territory from the Taurus in the north to Galilee and Gilead in the south.)

Rebellion of Tutammu of Unqui—Unqui province.
Now more "Kings of the Seacoast" pay tribute.

VI. Tiglathpileser's Syrian Campaigns

B. 742–740 B.C. *Revolt of Azriyau of Yaudi,* joined by 19 districts of Hamath (later organized as the provinces of *Hatarika, Mansuate, Kullani, Simirra).*

*Black:* The rebels. The black vise closes upon Arpad.

Arpad is occupied (most likely also Unqui).

740 B.C., in the third year of the war, TP defeats Azriyau; reoccupies Arpad; Makes *Panammu vassal king of Yaudi.*—The rebellious districts of Hamath organized as Assyrian provinces. Deportations.—*Eni-ilu* left as king of Hamath proper.

*Tributaries*

Borders *(round dots);* pushed considerably to the north, in the south include Israel (Menahem).

*1. Kushtashpi of Kummuh
2. *Rezin of Aram*
3. *Menahem of Samaria*
4. Hiram of Tyre
*5. Sibitibili of Gebal
*6. Uriaik of Que
?7. Pisiris of Carchemish
*8. Eni-ilu of Hamath
*9. Panammu of Samal
*10. Tarhulara of Gurgum
*11. Sulumal of Melitene
?12. Dadi-ilu of Kaska
*13. Uassarme of Tabal
*14. Ushitti of Tuna
*15. Urballai of Tuhana
*16. Tuhamme of Ishtunda
?17. Urimme of Hubishna
18. Zabibe of Arabia

738 B.C. Aftermath: Kullani destroyed.

"An outstretched finger," the province of Simirra, now touches the northwestern border of Aram-Damascus, whose territory comprises the later Assyrian provinces of Zobah, Damascus, Quarnini, Haurina.

* = those who reappear on the tribute list of 732.
? = probably in the sections of the 732 list now damaged.

C. 732 (733?) B.C. *Tribute after Rezin's defeat*

a. *The list of 740,* which is virtually intact (names 2 & 3, of course, have vanished from the scene). Missing only is *Tyre,* which, however, later on yielded to a show of force.

b. *New tributaries (plus-mark border)*

1. Matanbail of Arvad
2. Sanibu of Ammon
3. Salamanu of Moab
4. . . . . .
5. Mitinti of Ashkelon
6. *Ahaz of Judah*
7. Kaushmalaku of Edom
8. . . . . .
9. Hanno of Gaza

We may doubt whether Hoshea of Israel was on the list. Though appointed king, he was still fighting Pekah, whom he overthrew in 731W.

coast, made an attempt at preserving its independence. But the Assyrian smashed through this barrier; and now the "kings of the seacoast," deprived of its protection, submitted to the conqueror. Unqui became an Assyrian province. Its population was uprooted, to be supplanted with Aramean deportees.

Tiglathpileser could return home in the belief that this task was solved once and for all. But he had to pay heavily for his overconfidence. A usurper (a namesake of Azariah of Judah), Azriau of Yaudi, a little state on the shoulder of the Amanus (near the Gulf of Alexandrette), Unqui's northern neighbor, organized a movement of resistance, finding support in a great number of states. The king of Hamath remained loyal. This resulted in the defection of nineteen of his provinces which joined the anti-Assyrian coalition. By a surprise move the league seized the key city of Arpad, placed astride the main highway to the seacoast and the south. The Assyrian gains were wiped out.

**The Syrian Revolt, 742–740**

It took Tiglathpileser three years (742–740) to defeat Azriau and his allies and reduce the roadblock of Arpad. But with the fall of the city in 740, his authority was reestablished in the whole of Syria. The territory of Arpad and the rebellious districts of Hamath were reorganized as Assyrian provinces, while in Yaudi-Samal, the heart of the rebellion, Panammu, a scion of the old dynasty, by the grace of "his lord, the king of Ashur," replaced the usurper Azriau. A strip of neighboring Gurgum was added to his dominion. His kingdom was integrated into the system of eighteen vassal states (Melitene included this time) west of the Euphrates, between the upper reaches of the Halys in the north and the Judeo-Israelite border in the south.

In the catalogue of these eighteen tributaries we find again, as three years before, Hiram of Tyre and Rezin of Aram; but among the many new names there appears that of *Menahem of Samaria.* He accepted the suzerainty of the conqueror "in order that his hand might be with him to strengthen his hold over the kingdom" (2 K. 15:19), a most revealing statement, for we learn that the pressure of his rivals, which was to overthrow his dynasty within a few years, had become so strong by that time that he felt unable to hold his own. Only under the protection of his overlord could he hope to stabilize his shaky throne. A head tax of fifty shekels collected from the big landowners provided the funds from which to pay the tribute during the last three years of his reign (740, 739, 738), amounting to a total of one thousand silver talents.[36]

The subjugation of the West accomplished, Tiglathpileser spent the following year (739) in the north on an expedition against one of Urartu's outposts. However, in 738 he saw himself compelled to return to Syria to conquer Kullani (probably the Biblical Calneh), which was still holding out, or, more likely, had rebelled while the conqueror was away. Now he completed the organization of the new provinces begun in 743 and 740. Large-scale exchange of population between East and West was designed to consolidate his conquest by uprooting the rebellious nations and destroying their individuality in the melting pot of the empire. The small part of Hamath that had remained loyal continued its existence as a vassal kingdom. But west of it, newly acquired Assyrian territory, stretching out like a finger, touched the border of Zobah, the northwestern bastion of Aram-Damascus, now the immediate neighbor of the growing giant Assyria.

Tiglathpileser could rely upon these measures to keep the gateway to Palestine open for a number of years while he was concentrating on crushing Urartu. The satellite Syrian princes, terrified by the unheard-of harshness and thoroughness of the treatment of the rebel states, would hardly think of defection, while the new settlers in the annexed territories would need more than a decade to sink their roots deeply enough into the soil to identify themselves with the cultural, historical, and political traditions of their new homeland. As a final precautionary step the king appointed the crown prince, Shalmaneser, governor in that region. In keeping Syria under control he could rely upon the co-operation of such loyal princes as Panammu of Yaudi-Samal, occupying a strategic position in the very center of the Assyrian dominion west of the Euphrates. And indeed, Syria did not stir when in 734 the activities of Rezin compelled Tiglathpileser to rush into Palestine.

## The Crisis

We do not know whether there was an outright alliance between the kings of Urartu and Aram; our evidence is even too scanty to allow the term planned co-operation. But we can be fairly sure that the events in Palestine saved the Armenian kingdom from destruction. The news that Pekah, Rezin's puppet, had overthrown the Assyrian vassal in Samaria must have reached Tiglathpileser during his campaign of 736 in the outskirts of Urartu, or soon after his return. With the extraordinary cold-bloodedness of a great general and statesman, he took the calculated risk of disregarding the threat for another year (735) in order to deal the crushing blow to Urartu. He actually crippled it, penetrating to its capital. However, he could not devote any time to a systematic siege, which might have required

another expedition in the following year. Conditions south of the Lebanon had reached a critical stage. Further delay could imperil his Syrian possessions to such a degree as to make a reconquest very costly. Urgently did the situation call for the presence of the king and his armies. So he went.

Here we turn to the Palestinian scene to watch men and historical forces driving toward and through the critical juncture marked by the reappearance of Tiglathpileser in 734 B.C.

# 3

## The Age of Isaiah (747-698)

After the fall of the dynasty of Jehu in 747, four monarchs, each holding a share of Jeroboam's empire, enter the contest for supremacy within its confines. Rezin of Damascus and his puppet Pekah, the lord of the eastern and northern provinces of Israel, co-operating for the time being, quickly eliminate their rivals. In 736 the king of Samaria is slain by Pekah, who now reunites both sections of Israel under his scepter, and in 734 the Syro-Ephraimite allies are about to inflict a similar fate upon Judah and her king Ahaz, when the appearance of Tiglathpileser deprives Rezin of the fruit of his endeavors. Two more Assyrian campaigns—and king and Kingdom of Damascus have ceased to exist (732). One year later Pekah perishes in the whirlpool caused by that catastrophe. His murderer, Hoshea, recognized as vassal ruler of Samaria and a small section of former Israel, immediately upon the death of his overlord in 726 allows himself to be drawn into the net of world-wide anti-Assyrian intrigue. Shalmaneser V, Tiglathpileser's son, with a firm hand cuts

its threads, and Samaria and her king, now isolated, fall to his successor, Sargon II (c. February, 721). But the embers of the revolt, not fully extinguished, in 720 flare up to a conflagration threatening disaster to Assyria. Sargon's quenching it—an extraordinary feat—finally consolidates the conquests of Tiglathpileser and enables the empire to survive for a century in which to fulfill its mission.

We shall watch with interest how Judah, weathering the storm as a loyal vassal of Assyria and thus left as an outpost of the semi-autonomous states of Palestine, now begins to veer about until she finally becomes the protagonist of the southwestern wing of the anti-Assyrian league. Twice she has a narrow escape—no less miraculous to us than to her contemporaries. But the results are disastrous. Instead of realizing his hopes for an extension of his rule over most of former Israel, Hezekiah dies in 698 as the king of a Judah greatly weakened and reduced in size, almost confined to Jerusalem and its immediate environment.

Crisis incessantly billowing from crisis for half a century, little Judah tossed about by cosmic forces while trying to steer a precarious course—the heavy breathing of History is still perceptible in the passionate orations of Isaiah the prophet.

* * *

## 1. THE COLLAPSE OF ISRAEL (747–722)

When, in the fall of 747, Menahem established the Kingdom of Samaria, extending *from Mizpah to the Tabor* (Hosea 5:1),[37] with Mount Ephraim as its core, one appendix in the north (the Valley of Jezreel) and possibly another (the coastal plain) in the west, he found himself hemmed in both in the east and in the north by Rezin and his satellite Pekah, bent upon overthrowing him, while his southwestern flank was exposed to the attack of the Philistines, who soon were to feel strong enough to embark upon a policy of aggression (Isaiah 9:8–12).

**Jotham of Judah**

Equally alarming was the threat to the southern border. Jotham, the regent of Judah, could be expected to revive the ideas of his grandfather, Amaziah, aiming at a reunion of the two sister kingdoms under the scepter of David—a plan apparently favored by the prophet Hosea.[38] In fact, Hosea 6:8f. has been interpreted as referring to a Judean invasion, and 2 Ch. 28:27 might indicate that Ahaz, Jotham's successor, actually claimed the title of a King of Israel.

On the other hand, there was the possibility that the internecine warfare would take a different turn any moment. "The two houses of Israel" might come to terms and jointly attack Judah or simultaneously take action against it, even without previous agreement. Finally, it could happen, as it actually did, that one of the Israelite rivals "swallowed" the other, with Judah being marked as the next victim (Isaiah 9:20f.).

JOTHAM (759–743) braced himself for the unavoidable clash by systematically expanding the basis of his power. When assuming the regency for leprous Uzziah already master of the entire South as far as the Egyptian border

and the Red Sea, he had first consolidated the gains and conquests of his father, biding his time until the state of Jeroboam's empire had reached the point of disintegration. Then (750), as we have seen, he had re-established the *independence of Judah.* But now boldly reaching across the Jordan, he made Ammon tributary (c. 747), and we have reason to assume that Moab, flanked by Judean-controlled Edom and Ammon, likewise came under his sway. Even parts of Southern Gilead may have been in his possession.[39] This, of course, marked the end of his good relations with Pekah. They had been comrades in rebelling against Jeroboam. Now they were rivals. The Israelite could not suffer this infringement upon his sphere of interest.

The regent of Judah might have entertained far-reaching hopes, but he had arrived at the peak of his power. After three years the Ammonites ceased paying their tribute (2 Ch. 27:5). In this revolt again we may see the hand of the schemer Rezin, whose plans would have been thwarted by the establishment of a strong Judean bloc around the Dead Sea. And now (c. 744) he took the offensive. Jointly with his protégé Pekah ben Remaliahu he launched direct attacks on Judah (2 K. 15:37) which, steadily increasing in intensity throughout a decade, were to push Judah to the very brink of disaster.

Only one or two years did Jotham outlive the outbreak of this crisis. He died in the same summer of 743 in which Tiglathpileser's first blows crashed open the gates of Syria. By paying tribute to the conqueror, Rezin kept him from interfering in his sphere. As the North Syrian revolt closed the gates again, he had a free hand for three more years, after which he repeated the same maneuver in order to gain another respite. And he was to exploit it with the utmost skill and

**Supremacy of Rezin**

energy. AHAZ (743S–727S), the new regent of Judah, suffered terrible losses through repeated invasions of Rezin's and Pekah's armies (that is the essence of the account in 2 Ch. 27:5–8); and on one or another occasion during these crucial years his situation was so desperate that "he made his son pass through the fire," be it in the expectation of propitiating his own God, be it in the hope of appeasing the gods of Damascus and gaining their support.

Eventually, by a maneuver designed to paralyze Judah economically as well as strategically, Rezin conquered the Red Sea port of Elath and annexed it to Syria.[40] This master stroke increased his resources and improved his military and political position, since it gave him control of the King's Highway in its entire length, from the Red Sea to Damascus, and established his supremacy in the south of Palestine.

**Judah's Plight**

Now that Judah had been weakened, the Edomites and Philistines, throwing off the Judean yoke, joined in and raided the country. The Philistines, probably backed up by Egyptian princes, even succeeded in conquering large sections of Judean territory with its cities, which they settled with their nationals (2 Ch. 28:17 f.).[41] Pitiful was the plight of the Southern Kingdom. When, in the summer of 736, Uzziah, the leprous old king, died, Judah was on the verge of collapse. Hardly more was left of it than Jerusalem—"like a booth in a vineyard, like a hut in a cucumber field, like a city under siege."[42] "Your country desolate, your cities burned with fire, your land—strangers devour it under your very eyes"; a catastrophe, to be likened to that of Sodom and Gomorrah, is about to wipe it from the surface of the earth—that is the vivid picture drawn by Isaiah in his opening address. In the midst of world-shaking events encountering his God,

trembling under the impact, he had accepted the call to become the bearer of His message, and until the end of the century his voice was to be heard. The dust of world affairs, aimlessly whirling about—in his prophetic hands it assumed shape and character as he breathed life into it.

For the sensitive person there was indeed cause for excitement. Earlier in that summer of 736, shortly before the death of Uzziah, an event had occurred that brought the crisis to a head. The rivalry of Israel (Pekah) and Ephraim (Menahem), which through its political implications threatened destruction not only to the two contestants but also to Judah (Hosea 5:5), was terminated by Pekah's murdering Menahem's son, PEKAHIAH (738–736), an open challenge to Assyria. We recall that in 740 not only Rezin of Aram but also Menahem of Samaria, hard pressed by his adversaries, had paid tribute to Tiglathpileser. In exchange, the Assyrian had confirmed him in the possession of his tottering throne. But this step of Ephraim proved of no avail. Ashur could not heal him nor cure his wound (Hosea 5:13), for only two years later, in 738, the year of Menahem's death, Tiglathpileser, having completed the reorganization of Syria, left the West for what could be expected to be a very long period. Nobody could predict that the dangerous campaigns in Media and Urartu would be successfully concluded within three years.

Thus Rezin, playing for high stakes, boldly resumed his attempts at creating a Syro-Palestinian bloc. Two obstacles had to be removed: the kingdoms of Samaria and Judah. Accordingly, while his protector was in Media, Pekahiah, Menahem's son, was eliminated by Rezin's puppet, Pekah, whom the kings of Samaria never had recognized as their equal. (They kept pretending that he was merely a *shalish,*

an adjutant, i.e., viceroy of the provinces under his rule.)

A race against time began. Pekah needed one or two years to consolidate the kingdom of Israel, now reunited under his scepter. Meanwhile, Rezin intensified his diplomatic and military preparations for the showdown. It was probably now that he completed bringing Tranjordania, down to the Red Sea, under his control. The nations that up to that point had merely co-operated in a haphazard fashion, exploiting the chaotic state of the decaying empire of Jeroboam, had to be knit together more closely. We can also imagine that he made feverish, though unsuccessful, efforts to draw the North Syrian states into the plot which had the blessing of Egypt and at least the open approval of Tyre.

The Syro–Ephraimite Crisis

Judah alone was not ready to join the coalition. Warned by Isaiah that yielding to the popular sentiment "in favor of Rezin and the son of Remaliah (i.e. Pekah)"[43] would inevitably entail destruction of the kingdom by the Assyrian flood (8:6–8), King Ahaz decided to remain neutral. Force, accordingly, was to be applied where diplomacy had failed. Action could not be delayed beyond the spring of 734. Thus, with the avowed purpose of placing a leader of the anti-Assyrian party on the throne of David, the Syro-Ephraimite armies laid siege to Jerusalem—and the king's "heart and the heart of the people trembled as the trees of the forest tremble before the wind."

But that was the turning point. Though encouraged by Isaiah to hold out and to put his trust in God, King Ahaz preferred to rely upon human aid, even if it meant the loss of his independence. Tiglathpileser responded to his urgent plea for help, and in the following year (Judean style), beginning in the fall of 734,[44] we find the young king rein-

stated on his throne as a vassal of Assyria—an event so epochal in the history of Judah that Ahaz started a new count of his regnal years. The kingdom had survived, but was now a part of the world empire. This was the result of the Assyrian campaign "against Philistia," listed in the cuneiform records under the year 734.

**Tiglathpileser in Palestine**

It was hardly necessary to call Tiglathpileser's attention to what was brewing in Syria-Palestine. Most likely his armies were already on the march when Ahaz's message reached him. But it had its importance none the less. The Judean did not come with empty hands; he had considerably more to offer than the customary tribute. Jerusalem was an island within a sea of anti-Assyrian nations. With Egypt in the background, we find Philistia, Edom, Ammon, and Moab lined up with Damascus and Israel. Tyre, if not in outright alliance with them, was sufficiently interested in the success of the revolt, since she wished to cast off the burden of yearly tribute; and the activity of some Arabian tribes was such as to make a punitive expedition necessary. Thus, what Ahaz had to offer was the only foothold "from the entrance of Hamath to the border of Egypt."

Tiglathpileser actually seems to have made extensive use of that operational base. The Chronicler, when blaming Ahaz for his decision, complains that the Assyrian "pressed him hard, but strengthened him not"—a most revealing statement. The second part is an expression of bitter disappointment. Contrary to the hopes of the king's counsellors for re-establishment, if not extension, of Judean power, Edom was not restored to her control, the copper mines in the Arabah and the sea port of Elath were definitely lost, and the titles gained by the recent Ammonite victories of Jotham

were entirely disregarded. The first clause of the statement, however, does not refer merely to the heavy tribute. To understand it correctly, we ought to realize that—in those times even more than nowadays—an army, particularly that of a suzerain using allied territory as an operational base, was liable to work great hardship on the population. The liberator, received with enthusiasm, soon was to be disliked as if he had come as an oppressor.

It was in compliance with this strategical situation that Tiglathpileser, boldly by-passing Damascus and Samaria, directed his first blow against the Philistines, thus securing the South up to Jerusalem and blocking Egypt from active interference.[45] Hanno of Gaza, obviously the ringleader, was defeated and fled to Egypt; but after the fall of his city he submitted and was reinstalled as Assyrian vassal. The Syro-Ephraimite armies were unable to continue the siege of Jerusalem and withdrew, so it appears, without a major battle.

**Fall of Rezin and Pekah**

This campaign of 734 inflicted great losses upon Israel. On his way to Philistia, while marching through the northern districts of Pekah's kingdom and the coastal plain, Tiglathpileser started deporting the population and transforming the territories into Assyrian provinces. The following year (733) he was out to crush Damascus. Aiming at isolating Rezin from Pekah, he wrested the trans-Jordan sections, Gilead, from Israel (1 Ch. 5:26). Then, turning north, he decisively defeated the Syrian armies. With the remnants of his forces besieged in his capital, Rezin was able to delay the end until the next year, 732, when king and kingdom of Damascus were wiped out and Assyrian provinces established in its stead.

VII.

Rezin Against Tiglathpileser,
734–732 B.C.

BLACK: The anti-Assyrian forces: Syro-Ephraimites, Philistines, etc.
WHITE: Judah, the pro-Assyr. island which by the time of Tigl.-P's arrival was almost wiped out.

THE SYRO-EPHRAIMITE COALITION

*Aram-Damascus* (4, 5, 6, 7) under *Rezin Israel* (1, 2, 3, & ISR)—originally only #3—under *Pekah.*

Its aim:

*a*) to absorb Judah after absorbing all Israel;

*b*) to gain control of the vassals of Jeroboam's disintegrating empire.

*First Stage* 751–744

751 Pekah usurper in Gilead (3)

747 Menahem King of Samaria

c. 747 Pekah seizes Galilee (1)
Jotham subjugates Ammon—probably controls Moab

*Second Stage* 744–736

The early stages of the
SYRO-EPHRAIMITE WAR
(Dismemberment of Judah)

c. 744 Rezin & Pekah launch attack on Judah (Jotham)
(One result: Jotham loses Ammon)

743S Jotham dies—Ahaz regent

743 Rezin pays tribute to Tigl.-Pil., thus gaining a free hand. He and Pekah exert *pressure on Menahem* of Samaria—keep up attacks on Judah—after 743 Edom & Philistines rebel—invade Judah
Phil. occupy N.W.-Judah, probably also most of the west—penetrate into the south (Negeb)

740 Rezin again pays *tribute* to T.P.
TRIBUTE OF MENAHEM—TP confirms Men. as *King of Samaria*

c. 738 Rezin occupies Elath—
thus controls King's Highway from Damascus to Red Sea—which means control of Ammon, Moab, Edom.

736S PEKAH RE-UNITES ALL ISRAEL
Slaying Pekahiah, Menahem's son, he occupies his share (ISR & 2) with Samaria
Uzziah of Judah dies

*Third Stage* 734–732

SYRO-EPHRAIMITE ATTACK ON JERUSALEM
and Assyrian intervention

735 Military & dipl. pressure on Judah.
Having lost his vassals and most of the Judean territory to Rezin, Pekah, Edom & the Philistines (Hanno of Gaza), Ahaz is practically limited to Jerusalem

734 To eliminate this last small *island in the anti-Assyrian sea* Rezin and Pekah attack Jerusalem—Ahaz seeks Assyr. help—Assyr. vassal

*Tiglathpileser's campaign*

734 Bypassing Damascus and Samaria, he marches through Galilee (1), the coastal plain (2): *strikes at Philistia* —Hanno defeated, flees to Egypt
TP detaches Galilee (1) & Dor (2) from Israel—deportations

733 *a*) TP wrests Gilead (3) from Pekah—deportations—
*b*) *recognizes Hoshea* as king of rump state of Israel (ISR)
*c*) defeats Rezin—starts siege of Damascus

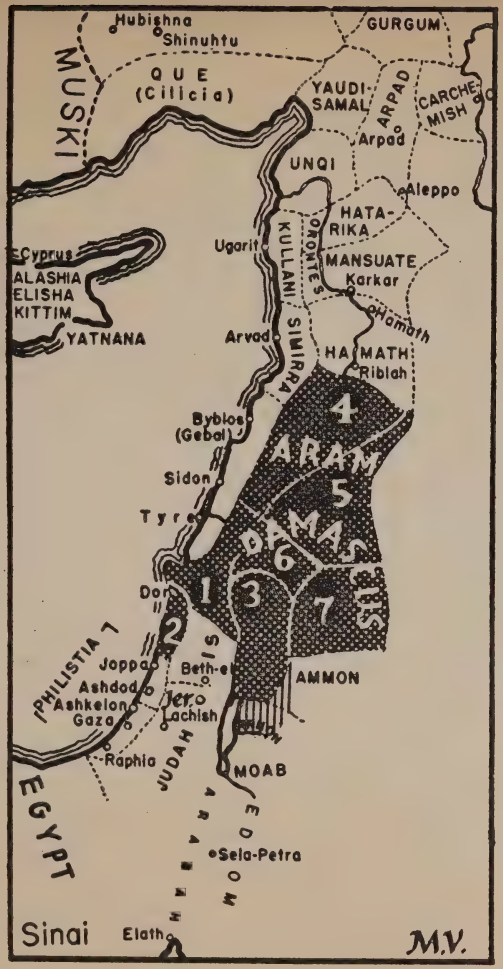
732 FALL OF DAMASCUS
Revolts of Tabal, Tyre, Ashkelon collapse

731W Hoshea kills Pekah

Pekah, however, with nothing in his possession but Samaria, was not considered worth the effort of an expedition. His position was undermined by the loss of prestige. Thus he could be left to his fate which overtook him in the winter of 731, when HOSHEA (731W–722W) slew him and seized the crown. Our records show that the usurper began the unofficial count of his regnal years as early as summer, 733,[46] and the cuneiform texts actually seem to indicate that he was recognized as vassal during the Palestinian campaign. Accordingly, with the approval of Tiglathpileser, he laid claim to the throne after Assyrian strategy had isolated Pekah in Samaria; and it took him about two and a half years to overthrow his rival and to take possession of the capital. Civil strife, splitting the tiny remnant of Israel into even tinier fragments, was only welcome to the Assyrian conqueror, who did not even wait for the outcome of the struggle. Already in 731 he began concentrating his activities on Babylonia, which culminated, in 729, in his ascension to the throne of the kings of Babylon under the name of Pul.

But before leaving for the East, he undertook a reorganization of Palestine. The entire northern part was now ruled by his governors. Assyrian territory formed a solid block between the Lebanon and a line running roughly from Jaffa through the northern tip of the Dead Sea,[47] indented only by the enclave of Israel, which, entirely landlocked, was flanked in the west by the Assyrian province of Dor (the coastal strip north of Jaffa), in the east by the province of Gilead (on the other side of the Jordan), while the border of the province of Megiddo (covering the northern sections torn from the kingdom of Pekah) ran somewhat south of the Carmel within easy reach of Samaria. The rest of the

**New Order in Palestine**




## VIII.

## Palestine Reorganized in 732 B.C.

*The north:*

*Assyrian provinces*

A. Former Kingdom of Aram-Damascus yields 4 provinces:
Zobah (4)—Damascus (5)—Quarnini (6)—Haurina (7)

B. Former Kingdom of Israel yields 3 provinces:
Megiddo (1) (includes Carmel)—Dor (2)—Gilead (3)

*The rest:*

*Tributary vassals*

a. Israel (IS)
limited to Samaria and its territory,
in 733 assigned to Hoshea, who
in 731W overthrows Pekah.

b. Ammon—Moab—Edom (which now occupies Elath)—
the Philistine cities (led by Gaza and Ashkelon)—
the Phoenician cities.

c. Judah (Ahaz)
to whom is assigned the role of *taskmaster of Philistia*
(at least its northern section)—
Edom and Elath are *not* returned to its control.

d. Idibilu, the Arabian
to control the Egyptian border districts.

As to the northern border of Moab, see n 47.

country was broken up into small tributary states, each jealously watching the other, such as Judah, the Philistine cities of Gaza and Ashkelon, Ammon, Moab, and Edom, which now, moving into the vacuum caused by the collapse of Damascus, took possession of the port of Elath (2 K. 16:6).[48] Idibilu, the Arab, was made overseer of the Arabian and Egyptian border districts. It appears that fifteen places, formerly under the rule of Ashkelon, were handed over to him to strengthen his position and to weaken that of the rebellious Philistine city.

A similar role was assigned to Ahaz of Judah. Not only were the cities of the Shephelah, conquered only recently by the Philistines, returned to him, but he was also commissioned to keep Northern Philistia—probably the districts formerly subjugated by his grandfather Uzziah—under control; and he dealt with them severely enough to become known as "the rod smiting Philistia" (Isaiah 14:29).[49] Judah occupied now a strategical position. It provided an insulating layer preventing, or at least delaying, extension of the political and military influence of Egypt beyond the border regions.

Rezin had perished. Saved from deadly peril, King Ahaz met in conquered Damascus with Tiglathpileser.[50] And now, a strange thing happened. The king of Judah transferred the cult of the gods of his defeated enemy to Jerusalem. However this might have puzzled scholars and laymen alike, it was in compliance with the customs and ideas of the ancient world. Not always did the gods of a vanquished state perish in the disaster. As we know from cuneiform and Biblical sources, the victor not rarely carried them away and built places of worship for them in his country. Thus we learn that Amaziah,

**Cult Reform of Ahaz**

the great-grandfather of Ahaz, after his victory over Edom, instituted the cult of the Edomite gods in Jerusalem. We also recall the Roman rites of *evocatio,* as illustrated in the classical case of the capture of Veii. Before the final assault, Juno Regina, the city goddess, is promised a magnificent temple in Rome if she would only desert the cause of the defenders. After the conquest her statue is solemnly conveyed to the new sanctuary on the Aventine, dedicated on September 1, 392, and held in highest esteem throughout Roman history.

It was thus in accordance with ancient concepts to bribe the gods of the enemy into changing sides—and that obviously was what Ahaz had done when face to face with disaster. His God, the God in whom Isaiah put his trust, had forsaken him—or was He merely too weak? So, in his predicament, he had turned to the gods of Damascus, be it Hadad-Rimmon, or Melkart, vowing the founding of a cult, richly adorned. Now that they had helped him, he fulfilled his pledge. This time, however, in contradistinction to Amaziah's adoption of Edomite gods, the new cult was not merely to supplement the old one. Radical changes took place. In fact, it appears that the measures taken amounted to little less than a closing of the Temple of the God of Israel.

**The Fall of Samaria**

No sooner had Tiglathpileser turned his back than the threads of intrigue were stealthily mended where he had cut them. There had been an aftermath of the war against Rezin. During those years so crucial for Assyria, probably since 737, Tyre, under her King Metenna, had refused to pay the annual tribute. This defiant policy was continued even when, after Rezin's defeat in the field, the other kings of Syria and Palestine rushed their tribute to the victorious warlord,

camping before the walls of Damascus. But when, unexpectedly, the Aramean capital held out into the following year, 732, somebody—be it Rezin, or the king of Tyre, or even Egypt—appears to have made an attempt at engineering a Syrian uprising. It was abortive. Only two of the vassals, Uassarme of Tabal in North Syria and Mitinti of Ashkelon in Philistia, actually broke the oath of fealty; and the rebellion collapsed before assuming dangerous dimensions when Damascus was conquered in the course of that year. Mitinti literally broke down under the impact of the tidings of Rezin's catastrophe; and Rukibtu's, his son's, submission, hurriedly offered, was accepted by Tiglathpileser. An army despatched to Tyre under the command of a general now easily convinced the king of the city that it was wiser to pay tribute. In Tabal the ruling dynasty was simply deposed and "a son of a nobody" installed on the throne.

But Tyre kept plotting. With her communication lines over the sea lanes unimpaired, she was soon to become one of the pivots of the revived league, adapted and constantly adapting itself to changing conditions. Finally linking up with the Babylonian group of rebellious vassals, this confederacy was to absorb the energies of the Assyrian kings for a full generation. It was a framework, made up by the coastal states, Egypt, Philistia, Phoenicia, supported by one or several Central Palestinian and some of the North Syrian principalities. Judah and Israel could not possibly stay out of the conflict.

The first rumbling came when, in the summer of 727, Ahaz of Judah died. The presence of the strongly pro-Assyrian ruler, strategically placed in the center of the country, had been a formidable obstacle to the shaping of an anti-Assyrian bloc. Now Philistia's taskmaster was dead

—his successor, HEZEKIAH (727–698), a mere boy of twelve years. Presently the Philistines began to stir. Jubilant that "the castigator's rod had been broken," they made ready to throw off the Judean yoke, even as they had done in the early thirties. Isaiah (14:28 ff.) warned them that "a smoke from the north," pouring over them hard-riding Assyrian warriors, would bring quick punishment.

Tremendous pressure was exerted upon Judah; and it appears that delegations of other nations preparing for revolt supported the Philistines. Precisely as in the Syro–Ephraimite crisis, the House of David was faced with the alternative either to participate in the plot or to perish; and precisely as on that occasion, Isaiah, defying the insolence of the enemy against the God throning on Zion, prevailed upon the young king and his advisors to resist threats and entreaties alike.

But Judah's position was to grow even more precarious; for a few months later, in January, 726, Tiglathpileser died. Now Metenna's successor, Elulaeus of Tyre, and Hoshea of Israel openly rebelled and withheld their tribute.[51] But Shalmaneser V (January, 726–January, 721), son and successor of the great Assyrian conqueror, acted with unexpected speed. Detained personally at home, he despatched troops —probably those he had commanded as governor of Syria— to the critical zone, and the kings of Tyre and Samaria, stunned by this demonstration of efficiency, promptly agreed to pay the tribute laid upon them, playing for time. It probably was this sudden collapse of the northern wing of the coalition and the appearance of the Assyrian troops before Samaria that enabled Hezekiah, now protected in the rear, to concentrate all his forces on Philistia and to score the success mentioned in 2 K. 18:8.

The lull lasted only two years. Sibe of Egypt (the So of the Bible) intensified his diplomatic and military activities, and, relying upon his support, Hoshea and Elulaeus ventured to challenge their overlord by withholding the tribute due in 724. Their chances of success were enhanced by the revolt of at least one of the North Syrian states, Que (Cilicia), which had to be reduced to the status of an Assyrian province,[52] and soon Mita of Muski (Midas of Phrygia), pushing forward from Central Asia Minor toward the Cilician coast, was to invade that very province.

This time Shalmaneser decided to exterminate the evil once and for all. The approach of his armies brought about the defection of Sidon and other Phoenician cities under Tyrian control. The island fortress, now isolated, was invested. Then the Assyrian forces, relentlessly pressing southward, swept away whatever resistance Hoshea had to offer—and in the winter of 724 siege was laid to Samaria. After less than two and a half years,[53] during the first quarter of 721, the capital of Israel succumbed, for Egyptian help did not come or at least was ineffective. Sargon II (721–705), another son of Tiglathpileser, who in January had succeeded Shalmaneser, lists it among his first conquests. King Hoshea and 27,290 people were deported. Settlers from distant lands were to replace them. Ephraim had "ceased to be a nation."

Two hundred and ninety years after the rise of David, the imperial dreams of Israel and Damascus had ended with the disappearance of both rivals. But the House of David had survived.

The stem of Jesse—was it indestructible?

IX.

The Revolt Against Shalmaneser 727–722 B.C.
*(The Fall of Samaria)*

*First Phase*

727S Ahaz of Judah dies–Hezekiah king–Philistia stirs (backed by Egypt and probably Tyre).

726 (Jan.) Tiglathpileser dies–Shalmaneser V king. Elulaeus of *Tyre* and Hoshea of *Israel*, plotting with *Egypt*, refuse tribute. Shalm. sends an army–Hezekiah contains Philistia (?): The revolt collapses.

*Second Phase*

724 (?) *Que* (vassal kingdom) rebels (backed by Muski). *Hilakku* (independent) probably joins.

724 Revolt of *Tyre* and *Israel*–backed by *Egypt*.

1. Shalm. subdues Que–Que Ass. province (723?);
2. Turns ag. Tyre. Result: defection of the Phoenician cities on the mainland, who now side with Assyria. Tyre isolated. *Siege of Tyre* (5 years);
3. *Siege laid to Samaria* (c. Nov./Dec.)

723–722 Probably campaigns in Northern Syria–c. 722 Mita of Muski conquers parts of Que.

721 Jan. Shalm. dies (on campaign?)–Sargon king; *Fall of Samaria* (Jan./Febr.)–End of Israel–Deportation–Assyr. province of Samaria created

720 Tyre comes to terms with Sargon (after collapse of the "Hamath rebellion")–siege raised.

Samaria had fallen. Unconquerable Tyre, however, by brilliant strategy maintaining the command of the sea, held out for five years, until, in 720, prevailing conditions made it advisable for both sides to come to terms. This situation was created by a series of uprisings in the first two years of Sargon's reign, which appear so co-ordinated that we are tempted to seek behind them a master plan within which the continued resistance of Tyre counted as much as the possibility of a new rebellion of Philistia with Egyptian backing. Since, as we shall see, a few years later the grand strategy of Merodach-Baladan was mapped largely after the same pattern, it is not unlikely that it was the crafty Babylonian usurper who devised the plan meant to end the Assyrian hegemony in the very beginning of the reign of Sargon.

**The Syro-Palestinian Revolt of 720**

Tiglathpileser's empire was falling apart. Unlike his brother and predecessor, Sargon of Assyria was unable to realize the title to the crown of Babylon established by their father. The conquest of Samaria, the critical situation on the western borders, combined with the problem of stabilizing the throne, newly acquired, taxed his energies and resources to the utmost. Thus the shrewd and ambitious ruler of a small vassal state at the mouth of the Euphrates, the Chaldean Merodach-Baladan, seizing upon the opportunity, in Nisan (April), 721, usurped the kingdom of Babylon. For a full year, over which his inscriptions pass with ominous silence, Sargon was unable to undertake any overt step against the dangerous foe. It seems that he had to cope with a rebellion in Northern Syria. Instigated, no doubt, by Mita of Muski (Midas of Phrygia), who had occupied large

parts of neighboring Cilicia, Yaudi-Samal rose, and probably not before the following year was it reduced to the status of a province.

The situation was desperate. With scheming Egypt, Phrygia, and Armenia in the background, the unruly Syrian states and provinces in the southwest, west, and north were in commotion, Aramean tribes in the eastern border regions dared to defy their overlord, while in the southeast Babylon's ally, the king of Elam (capital: Susa), drew up his armies in open challenge to the king of Assyria. Only swift and bold action could save the Empire. Thus Sargon, leaving probably not more than a skeleton army in Syria, set out for his campaign unusually early—most likely in Adar, the twelfth month of the Assyro-Babylonian year[54]—and, about the turn of the year, threw himself upon the king of Elam before Merodach-Baladan could come to the support of his ally (April, 720).[55] Both sides claim the victory—and none was able to exploit it. Babylonia remained lost to the Empire, but the Elamite threat was checked.

When Sargon turned around, he found Syria aflame. The king of Hamath—in the time of Tiglathpileser loyal to the Assyrian cause even when deserted by his provinces—had been overthrown by a certain Iaubidi (or Ilubidi). Now seeing that the Empire was not invincible, the neighboring Assyrian provinces of Arpad and Simirra followed his lead, thus sealing off the bottleneck between the Euphrates and Palestine. Cut off were the Assyrian forces besieging Tyre, cut off the garrisons stationed in the territories south of the Lebanon recently annexed. The situation favored insurrection and, indeed, rebellion sprang up in two of the new provinces, Damascus and Samaria (where deportations had just begun), while in the south, Philistia, again under the leadership of Hanno of Gaza, prepared to regain its freedom.

X.

## Sargon in the Crisis of 720 B.C.

### *The Hamath Rebellion*

**ANTECEDENTS:** Tyre holding out since 724.—722(?) **Mita of Muski** conquers parts of **Que**— 721(?) **Yaudi-Samal** (vassal kingdom) rebels (subdued in 721 or 720).—721, Nisan, Merodach-Baladan usurps the throne of **Babylon**, aided by Elam.—

**Campaigns of 720** (1) Ag. east. bloc: Elam-Babylon, **Battle of Der** (March/April), stalemate, protects his rear. —(2) Ag. west. bloc: Arpad, Simirra, Damascus, Samaria, led by Hamath under the usurper **Iaubidi. Victory of Karkar** (c. June/July) opens road to the south for attack on (3) sw bloc: Hanno of Gaza, aided by Egypt. **Victory of Raphia** (c. Sept.).—Provinces of Samaria and Damascus subdued again (c. Oct.).—Tyre concludes peace.

At Karkar, where once before, in the time of Ahab, a Syrian coalition had opposed the Empire, Iaubidi lost throne and life. Hamath was made a province. With the roadblock removed from the gateway to Palestine, Sargon, roughly repeating the strategy of Tiglathpileser, proceeded southward. Marching through the western provinces still under his control (Megiddo and Dor), he aimed his first blow at the king of Gaza and his Egyptian ally, who this time had appeared in the field, and smashed them in the Battle of Raphia on the Egyptian border (late summer of 720). Hanno was captured and deported. Gaza opened her gates and, under a new ruler, retained her vassal status.

Damascus and Samaria, now isolated, were next to be subdued; but not before the late fall or early winter could this task be accomplished. Tyre alone was not conquered, but merely "pacified." A formula was found, no doubt, by which both sides saved face. Thus the Phoenician metropolis could give up the resistance which now had become senseless, and Sargon could raise the siege which had proved so costly.

Palestine was stunned. Only once again, in 711, had Sargon to return for a short visit in order to quell a revolt centering about the Philistine city of Ashdod. Egypt, now under a new and stronger ruler, was not only instigator, but active participant (Is. 20). However, the cuneiform records, whose disparaging remarks about Egypt's unreliability closely resemble Isaiah's, inform us that all the vassal states in the south, such as Edom, Moab, even Judah, were among the conspirators.

**The Ashdod Rebellion, 713–711, Joined by Judah**

But if it was the Pharaoh who had kindled the fire of rebellion, then it was Merodach-Baladan who kept it aflame,[56] for in 712 we find his ambassadors—under the pre-

text of paying a courtesy call to sick Hezekiah—negotiating an alliance with Judah (2 K. 20:12 ff.; Is. 39), and we can be fairly sure that they did not visit Jerusalem without getting in touch with the neighbor nations conspiring against Assyria. Gurgum, strategically placed in the Euphrates region, apparently became party to the plot, thus partially compensating for the loss of Hamath. We may well assume that it was Babylonian intrigue that encouraged the anti-Assyrian party to seize power, so that Sargon was forced to spend the first half of the following summer (711) in battling the insurgents before he could turn against Ashdod.

Isaiah, faced by his king with the *fait accompli,* strongly disapproved of the treaty. While, on the one hand, he had warned of Egyptian weakness, he now warned of the potential strength of Babylon, pronouncing what since olden times Bible readers—with modern critical scholars making no exception—have misinterpreted as a *prediction of the great Babylonian Exile.* It was merely a realistic and level-headed appraisal of the situation, disposing of the emotional nationalistic illusions. Whatever the promises of the new ally had been—independence, extension of Hezekiah's dominion over the territory of former Israel, or even more—Judah would not win her freedom, but merely change her master. In the case of victory, Babylon could be expected to establish herself as heir to the Assyrian Empire, and within less than one generation the constant threat of deportation and obliteration would hang again over a tributary Judean kingdom. There was no salvation in playing with the big powers at the game of politics.

Merodach-Baladan had good reasons to seek the alliance of the Egypto-Palestinian league. In fact, when organizing co-operation of East and West, he was playing his last trump

card. His opponent had outmaneuvered him. After breaking the western jaw of the mighty vise choking Assyria in 720, Sargon had devoted campaign after campaign to a methodical elimination of all the actual or potential allies of Babylon. The fickle North Syrian kings, plotting either with Phrygia or Urartu, if not with both states, were deposed one after another, and governors were appointed in their stead. Phrygia was driven out of Cilicia, and a dangerous expedition, boldly carried into the heart of Urartu, paralyzed the northern neighbor. Median territory on the border was likewise annexed. The most dangerous member of the coalition of 720, Humbanigash of Elam, had died in 717, and his successor did not feel strong enough to support Babylon. The war against Gurgum and Ashdod (711) was merely to add the last link to this chain of well planned successes. Thereafter, Merodach-Baladan, now completely isolated, succumbed to the direct attack of Sargon without putting up major resistance (710) and fled the country. His capital opened the gates, and in Nisan (April) of 709, the conqueror ascended the throne of the Babylonian kings.

It was therefore an eleventh hour's attempt at forestalling his doom when Merodach-Baladan made contact with Hezekiah and his coconspirators. Various reasons had brought Judah into the anti-Assyrian camp. With her rivals, Damascus and Samaria, definitely crushed in 720, the peril of being swallowed up by her neighbors after a possible victory had largely been eliminated. New vistas had opened up. The dream of reuniting Israel and Judah, if not of reviving David's empire, might come true if Assyria collapsed. The Babylonian and Egyptian agents would certainly play on these ambitions, while, on the other hand, pointing to the fate of the North Syrian kingdoms presaging the transforma-

tion of all the vassal states into provinces (cp. Is. 10:5 ff.). His readiness to join might have been enhanced by his dissatisfaction with the new order of 720. Ashdod and Gath, which for half a century, since Uzziah conquered them, had disappeared from our records, now are found as cities independent from Judah. Apparently Sargon, realistically anticipating the development of the following years, had, in 720, deprived Hezekiah of the control of Philistia. Now Egypt and Babylon, promising Judah compensations in the north, succeeded in reconciling the former enemies, Judah and Philistia.

The situation is further illustrated by Is. 10:5 ff. (possibly to be combined with 14:24–27), the dramatic fulminations against Ashur, dating from the height of the crisis (after 717, and most likely before 711). We find in them an expression of the general feeling that Ashur, "removing the bounds of the nations at will, gathering all the lands like a boy pilfering eggs from a bird's nest, had overreached herself and could not possibly climb higher. But what with the prophet was merely the ethos of his God-consciousness, expecting the *hybris,* the apocalyptic insolence, to be crushed in a catastrophe of apocalyptic dimensions—after which the family of nations would live in peace and comfort—was with the average man the small change of common anti-Assyrian nationalistic hopes. The successes of Merodach-Baladan in Babylon and of Shabako in Egypt would have been contributing factors in creating the conviction that the end of Assyrian world domination was imminent. Sargon, since 716 conducting campaigns in Urartu, was known to expose himself recklessly to the dangers of war. To the modern reader of the detailed account of the expedition of 714, it appears almost a miracle that it did not end in catastrophe, though

he will realize that it was just this extraordinary daring that stunned the enemy and drove terrified King Ursa of Urartu into committing suicide.

**Ashdod Rebels**

It was then at the time of this great and dangerous undertaking of 714 that the new king of Egypt (who in the preceding year, feigning peaceful intentions, had sent gifts to the Assyrian king) organized the revolt of his Palestinian neighbors, Philistia, Edom, Moab, and Judah. It is not unlikely, though by no means certain, that he acted in agreement with Babylon, possibly also with Urartu. Azuri of Ashdod accordingly withheld his tribute. Sargon, calmly continuing his wars in the north, simply sent his *tartan* (field marshal), who took Ashdod (Is. 20:1) and placed Azuri's brother Ahimiti on the throne (713). The commotion seemingly subsided.

However, in the following year we find Merodach-Baladan's emissaries in Palestine fanning the smoldering embers in preparation for a world-wide conflagration. The coalition extended now from the utmost southeast to the far southwest of the Empire. In Gurgum, Tarhulara, Assyria's loyal vassal, was murdered by his son Mutallu, and in Ashdod, Iamani, a Greek adventurer, heading the anti-Assyrian faction, usurped the crown.

This time Sargon personally took charge of the operations. Late in May, 711, crossing the swollen Euphrates, he invaded Gurgum, conquered its capital, deported Mutallu and the leading families, and created a new province of Assyria (c. June/July). Then he raced southward. At the news of his coming the Egypto-Palestinian coalition collapsed. They apparently were not sufficiently prepared, having counted upon a longer delay of the Assyrians in the north. Without risking battle, Iamani fled to Egypt. But

ELAM forced out
cannot aid Babylon
as promised
710: Drives wedge between Babylon and Elam
714
711
BABYLON
ELAM
URARTU
(ARMENIA)
LAKE URMIA
LAKE VAN
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Persian Gulf
Rebels and their allies
MUSKI
(PHRYGIA)
LYDIA
EGYPT
Sinai
Nineveh
Ashur
Babylon
Susa
Elam
Tigris River
Euphrates River
Habor
Carchemish
Aleppo
Tigrah
Tadmor
Damascus
Sidon
Tyre
Byblos (Gebal)
Joppa
Ashdod
Ashkelon
Gaza
Jerusalem
Samaria
Rameth-Gilead
Salu-Petra
Ephesus
Troy
Gordion
Rhodes
Lesbos
Cyprus
ALASHIA
ELISHA
KITTIM
YATNANA
KASKA
KAMMANU
MELITENE
COMAGENE
GURGUM
TABAL
HILAKKU
QUE
(Cilicia)
Tyana
Tulunna
Hubishna
Shinuhtu
SAMAL
Arpad
UNQI
HATARIKA
MANSUATE
Karkar
KULLANI
SIMIRRA
Arvad
HAMATH
Riblah
ZOBAH
DAMASCUS
HAURINA
Ramoth-Gilead
AMMON
MOAB
PHILISTIA
JUDAH
EDOM
1
2
3
MV.

# XI.

## Sargon in the Crisis of 714–710 B.C.

### *The Ashdod Rebellion*

715–714 S. ag. Mita of Muski and Urartu

714 Egyptian intrigues–*Hezekiah's reform* (aiming at reunion of Israel and Judah)–Azuri of *Ashdod* tries to create an anti-Assyrian bloc in Palestine *(Judah, Edom, Moab);*

713 The *tartan,* sent by Sargon, takes Ashdod, deposes Azuri, enthrones Ahimiti, his brother;

712 Merodach-Baladan of *Babylon* (relying upon Elam) concludes alliance with the conspirators *(embassy to Hezekiah),* rekindles the fire;

711 *Gurgum* rebels (pro-Assyr. king overthrown)–Iamani overthrows Ahimiti of *Ashdod*–open rebellion of Ashdod, Judah, Edom, Moab, backed by Egypt;

1. Sargon crosses Euphrates (late May)– subdues Gurgum–makes it an Assyrian province (c. June/July);
2. Subdues Ashdod (c. Sept./Oct.)–makes it a province–returns without punishing Judah (and the other rebels?);

710 Ag. the east. wing of the coalition

3. Drives wedge betw. Babylon and Elam by subduing the Aramean tribes along the Tigris–crosses the Lower Euphrates–Merod.-B. yields Babylon.

709 S. *King of Babylon*–ag. Aram. tribes in Babylonia–ag. Elam and Muski–Mita's submission.

when Sargon besieged and captured Ashdod and Gath, the Pharaoh purchased peace by handing over his protégé in fetters to the Assyrian victor. The province of Ashdod was established, comprising most of Philistia.

Judah and the other rebels, so it seems, now submitted and escaped severe punishment. The season was too advanced (c. October or November) and the army employed —mainly elite shock troops[57]—too small to carry out a full scale campaign. Sargon had to hurry back to be ready for the final blow against Merodach-Baladan to be delivered in the following spring.

Hezekiah could breathe again. At times the outlook had been as hopeless as in 734 and 727, as hopeless as it was to be again in 701; and precisely, as in all those instances, it had been Isaiah who, notwithstanding his opposition to the steps taken by the king, encouraged him not to lose faith (38:6). The prophet had been right. Judah had skirted disaster, and miraculously had she escaped.

**Hezekiah's Cult Reform**

It is only within this setting that we can understand the great cult reform, undertaken by Hezekiah when the world crisis was in its early stages. In all ages, and particularly in ancient times, have religion and politics been interrelated, if not intertwined, and it is the political aspect of the reform that requires our attention in the present context.

It certainly was not sheer coincidence that the reform began in the fall of 715, at the very moment when Hezekiah prepared to break with the pro-Assyrian policy established by his father Ahaz. Reopening the Temple, closed by his predecessor, was a first demonstration. Repairing the building, as some have suggested, might have involved improvements of the fortifications of Jerusalem. Destruction of all foreign cults entailed removal of all the cults instituted

since the time of Ahaz in subservience to the Assyrian overlord. And then, making the sanctuary the center of attention meant emphasizing the unity of Judah and Israel whose symbol it had been since the time of Solomon.

Jeroboam I, after the secession, had taken special measures to counteract the attraction of the cult on Moriah. Now the barriers were broken down. Hezekiah decided to replace the Judean calendar, beginning in the fall, with the Israelite calendar, beginning in the spring. This, by the way, had also economic advantages, since Assyria too had the spring calendar. Thus in the spring of 714 a new era was started with the celebration of the great spring festival in which, on his invitation, quite a few representatives of the northern tribes participated. The cultural and religious was, of course, only meant as a forerunner of the political unification; and a century later, when the Assyrian Empire was actually disintegrating, Josiah, as we shall see, successfully carried out the plan along the same lines.

That the great festival ushering in what was supposed to be an era of freedom happened to commemorate the liberation from Egyptian bondage, might have been mere coincidence. But it certainly was planned to make it the four hundred and eightieth anniversary of what tradition considered the solemn establishment of the united tribes of Israel in Canaan at the end of the Joshua period (1194), when the Israelites for the first time laid claim to the title to the "Promised Land."

All these ostensibly unpolitical measures were taken while, at the same time, negotiations were going on with Egypt and the Palestinian kingdoms in preparation for the Ashdod revolt, which came about in the following year. And while Hezekiah celebrated a Passover "as there had not been the like since the time of Solomon" [58] (2 Ch. 30:26), he was

listening to the siren song of his prospective allies promising him the possession of the Kingdom of Solomon—provided he participated in the overthrow of the Assyrian Empire.

Now this dream had been dispelled. Barely had Judah escaped destruction. The Philistine rebels and Merodach-Baladan, her allies, were thoroughly defeated, hardly any of the semi-autonomous kingdoms were left after the fall of Gurgum. Assyrian provinces everywhere—the time could not be distant when Judah too was to be ground up by the tremendous forces at work in the expanding Empire. But Sargon never returned to Palestine; and in 705 fate overtook him during a campaign in the northern mountains. We have little information on it. Possibly it was directed against the wild hordes of the Cimmerians that had already weakened Urartu and were to bring about the fall of Midas of Phrygia, only to remain the scourge of Asia Minor for the greater part of a century. The world that had been trembling under the foot of the conqueror was shaken by his fall, and we can well imagine Isaiah composing the grandiose dirge to be found in the fourteenth chapter of his book:[58a] "At rest, quiet is the whole earth"—terror has subsided; but the underworld is stirred by the coming of him who godlike had risen to dizzy heights. "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morn!"

**The Revolt Against Sennacherib, 701 B.C.**

Reverberating through the wide spaces of the Empire the echo revived the fainting spirits of the subjugated nations. Assyria appeared in a situation even more precarious than that of 721–720; and precisely as during that crisis, Merodach-Baladan, after securing Elamite support, seized Babylon (703). Simultaneously rebellion flared up

in Syria-Palestine. The new province of Ashdod disintegrated. Kings returned to the Philistine cities, and Sennacherib (705–681), Sargon's son and successor, could not but accept the *fait accompli* with good grace, merely demanding the oath of fealty. But Egypt, probably in cooperation with Merodach-Baladan, was plotting. The old league was reconstructed—in fact at least, if not by formal treaty.

As a result, there were uprisings along the entire line. In Phoenicia it was Elulaeus, the heroic defender of Tyre against Shalmaneser and Sargon back in the twenties (724–720), who as the lord of Sidon led the revolt and reconquered Cyprus, Sargon's most recent acquisition.[59] The kings of several other cities, his rivals, apprehensive of his growing power, of course, remained loyal to the Assyrian cause.

Analogous was the situation in the South. There Hezekiah of Judah appears as the protagonist of the anti-Assyrian group, for it was to him that the rebellious oligarchs of Ekron in Philistia handed over their pro-Assyrian king Padi. Ashkelon chose Sidka to lead them in their fight for freedom. But Gaza did not join the sedition. Mitinti of Ashdod and the kings of Edom, Moab, and Ammon, if they had ever been a party to the plot, submitted early enough to be rewarded for their loyalty. But Egypt, this time, was ready to fight.

We know how Sennacherib with quick blows broke up this coalition. In February–March, 702,[60] smashing the resistance of Merodach-Baladan and his Elamite ally, he entered Babylon and placed a puppet on the throne. Then he secured the border east of the Tigris before launching his expedition of 701 against Syria-Palestine. Terrified by the news of his approach—so the Assyrian records claim—

Caspian Sea
Black Sea
Black Sea
MEDES
ELAM
Persian Gulf
Cimmerian Invasion
URARTU (ARMENIA)
URARTU
LAKE URMIA
LAKE VAN
BABYLON
ELAM
Rebels and their allies
KASKA
HILAKKU
MELITENE
KAMMANU
TABAL
COMAGENE
GURGUM
SAMAL
UNQI
HATARIKA
HAMATH
KULLANI
SIMIRRA
ZOBAH
DAMASCUS
AMMON
MOAB
EDOM
PHILISTIA
MUSKI
CYPRUS
ALASHIA
ELISHA
KITTIM
YATNANA
LYDIA
MUSKI (PHRYGIA)
EGYPT
Sinai
Nineveh
Ashur
Babylon
Susa
Troy
Ephesus
Rhodes
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
Jerusalem
Ashdod
Ashkelon
Gaza
Ekron
Sela-Petra
M.V.

# XII.

## Sennacherib in the Crisis of 705–701 B.C.

705 Catastrophe of Sargon–Sennach. king

704 Revolt of the West: Elulaeus of *Tyre* and *Sidon* reconquers Cyprus–*Philistia* (Ekron, Ashkelon) rises–*Judah* (Hezekiah) joins–*Egypt* lends help

703 July, Merod.-Baladan seizes *Babylon*, *Elam* aids him–border tribes rebel.

702 *Campaigns in the East*

1. Shebat 20/Febr. 23, sets out ag. Babylon–VICTORY OF KISH (c. Mar. 10) gains him Babylon –Senn. makes Belibni king of Babylon;
2. Subjugation of the tribes along the Tigris and the mountain districts on the Elamite and Median borders protects his rear.

701 *Campaigns in the West*

3. Ag. Sidon-Tyre–Phoenicia collapses, Elulaeus flees to Cyprus–Ithobaal made king of Sidon–most Palestinian kings pay tribute at Ushu (first half of August).
4. Ag. Philistia and Judah–VICTORY OF ELTEKE–conquest of Philistian cities–conqu. of Judean cities–negotiates w. Hezekiah (Aug./Sept.)–late Sept.: *Siege of Jerusalem* started–Oct./Nov.(?): siege raised.

700 Suppresses Babylonian revolt–makes Ashur-nadin-shumu, his son, king of Babylon

Elulaeus fled from Tyre to Cyprus. It was, indeed, strategically sound to give up Sidon and the other cities on the mainland, now untenable, and to transfer the government to the Mediterranean island, reconquered only recently. Inaccessible Tyre could be expected to hold out until the storm had blown over.[61] His other possessions on the coast actually fell to Sennacherib, who appointed a certain Ithobaal king of Sidon.

When the victor turned south, the "loyal" kings of Phoenicia and Palestine acknowledged his overlordship by offering their tribute. Then Ashkelon and the cities under her control were overrun. Her king, the usurper Sidka, and his family were deported. A scion of the old dynasty, a son of Rukibtu (see p. 58), ascended the throne as a vassal of Assyria. A battle at Eltekeh in the coastal plain (west of Jerusalem) against the forces of Ekron and their Egyptian allies sealed the fate of the rebellious city. After punishing the traitors Sennacherib organized a pro-Assyrian government to be headed by the loyal king Padi, still in confinement in Jerusalem, whom Hezekiah was compelled to release.

Destruction of the Judean rebel was the only task left. His country was ravaged, the population deported, his cities, forty-six in number, turned over to the pro-Assyrian kings of Philistia. When negotiations failed to lead to surrender, Hezekiah was shut up in Jerusalem "like a bird in a cage." But the powerful fortress, whose defenses had been strengthened in preparation for the revolt, held out long enough to make Sennacherib realize that the price of its conquest might become too high. Satisfied with an extremely heavy tribute and acknowledgment of his suzerainty, he left before the situation could grow critical (late fall of 701).[62]

Conditions in Babylonia were still too unsettled to permit a long absence—he knew that before setting out for the Palestinian campaign. But what really saved Jerusalem was *a rumor* (Is. 37:7), like the one that had saved Samaria when besieged by Benhadad III in the beginning of the century. It was not so much the threat of an Egyptian attack—he was strong enough to cope with that eventuality—something portentous had happened in Asia that called for his presence. History was in birth pangs; and before the fall of the following year (700) one of her famous children was born: a new dynasty, founder of the independent kingdom of Media, destined within a century to become the heir to the Assyrian Empire and master of "Upper Asia."[63]

**Sennacherib and Jerusalem**

Vivid and dramatic, but none the less authentic, is the description of the activities leading up to the attack on Jerusalem, as preserved by the Biblical historian.[64] While conducting the siege of Lachish, depicted in its various stages on Assyrian reliefs, Sennacherib despatches his highest officials with a task force of considerable size to the Judean capital. To the negotiators appointed by Hezekiah, they present the official ultimatum demanding surrender. All possible devices, employed and re-employed under such conditions throughout the ages, are brought into play. Useless is resistance against the irresistible. The invincible conqueror of the world would not be stopped by the insignificant little kingdom. Is it not the very God Hezekiah is praying to, who has delivered his capital into the hands of the Assyrian? The outcome is inevitable. . . .

But while the text of the formal document is read aloud to the Judean representatives, the Assyrian negotiators add ironical and scornful remarks of their own, ridiculing the

impotence of the defenders by contrasting their number—so exiguous—with the tremendous forces at the disposal of Sennacherib. By various means they further undertake to appeal, over the head of their leaders, to the defeatists within the city, promising them peace and plenty if they would only have sense enough to give up, instead of following, misguided as they were, their rebellious king. And the Assyrian agents also spread the rumor—to be heard time and again—that Hezekiah's cult reform had destroyed the religious basis of the state, thus rendering the catastrophe inescapable.

The Judean negotiators, when delivering the document to their king, supplement it with comments based on the oral negotiations. Hezekiah, in despair, goes to the Temple and presents it to his God—a very characteristic move (we are reminded of Sargon submitting the report of his great campaign of 714 to his god, Ashur). Isaiah, the prophet, appears on the scene. Thundering against the insolence of the aggressor, he again encourages his king and predicts that Jerusalem will be saved.[65] The arrogant Assyrian will be unable to undertake a siege. God will turn him away, and destruction will be the final punishment for his *hybris*.

However, Sennacherib, as we know from his records, outraged by the negative reply to the ultimatum, actually began a systematic siege, hoping to carry the fortress before the winter. He might have succeeded, had it not been for that "rumor." But Hezekiah was so hard pressed that he was ready to accept the most humiliating conditions, just short of surrender. Thus the siege was raised. Isaiah was vindicated, though only to a limited extent, and when, twenty years later, Sennacherib was murdered by his own sons, it appeared like fulfillment of the prophet's prediction.

From the lofty heights of his ambitious dreams, Hezekiah had crashed to the deepest pit of humiliation. Barely had Jerusalem escaped the fate of Samaria, the fate she finally was to suffer—one hundred and fifteen years later—on account of the very same policies. History had decided against him. Accordingly, we are tempted to decry his shortsightedness. To challenge the Assyrian giant—was that not foolish to the utmost?

**Evaluation**

It was not—and certainly would not have appeared so to men living in the midst of that crisis. It was a gamble, indeed. But the chances of success were by no means slim. Ever since Tiglathpileser, the existence of the Assyrian Empire had been precarious. In 713–711, the situation was at least critical; and deadly were the perils in 720, deadly in 705–701, after the catastrophe of Sargon. In analyzing the situation, we ought to keep in mind what it really was that eventually led to the collapse of Assyria. It was the incessant rebellions all over the Empire in which Palestinian and Phoenician states, backed by Egypt, co-operated with Babylon and other kingdoms in the North and East, while the continuous attacks of Cimmerian, Scythian, and Median hordes, steadily increasing in intensity, whittled away her strength. It is largely the same alignment of nations, under virtually identical conditions, which we find in Hezekiah's time. Their efforts, tenaciously sustained, eventually were crowned with success. Hezekiah's great-grandson, Josiah, was actually in a position to establish a *de facto* independent Judah, controlling large parts of former Israel (ca. 625–609). The dream of Hezekiah was fulfilled. Could it not have become reality in his lifetime?

It certainly is not entirely wrong to say that a century was needed to drain the resources of Assyria and outwear

her resistance. But one ought not to overrate these facts. We venture the thesis that the collapse could have come at any time in the age of Hezekiah. The calculations of the anti-Assyrian front were basically correct; and we have seen that in 712 Isaiah actually believed in the possibility of a victory of the rebels. There was only one flaw in their plans. They had underrated something imponderable—the energy and efficiency of Sargon and Sennacherib. That made all the difference—and probably would have made all the difference between downfall and survival in the following century. It was a victory of personalities against heavy odds—will power against man power. They exploited fully the advantage of an army, striking on interior lines and directed by *one* will against a coalition without positive program, each member of which would lend only half-hearted support to the common cause, lest the one-time ally might become too powerful after the collapse of the enemy.

Thus Hezekiah was by no means shortsighted when hoping for an overthrow of Assyria. Under an ordinary leader, she might have succumbed. It was the extraordinary energy and tenacity of her king that piloted her along the brink of disaster to safety—a well-nigh impossible feat. But shortsighted he was—and Isaiah had told him so in 712—when harboring the delusion that Judah would be able to maintain her independence.

Would it have been safer to take a different course? Certainly not. Hezekiah was caught on the horns of a dilemma. One way or another, he was gambling with his country's future and his own—and not without justification did he decide that the odds favored the anti-Assyrian side.

None of Isaiah's addresses can be dated after the defeat. Was his answer silence?

# 4

## A Century on Borrowed Time (698-586)

ONE CENTURY, ALMOST TO THE YEAR, extends from the death of Hezekiah in 698 to the deportation of King Jehoiachin to Babylon in 597, the harbinger of the final catastrophe of Judah and Jerusalem in 586. Its history was to testify to the soundness of Isaiah's realistic appraisal of the situation made during the crisis of 712-11. In the age of world empires, ushered in by Tiglathpileser, there was no room for an independent Judah, except for the short periods of transition, beginning with the crumbling of one empire and ending with the establishment of the dominion of its successor. Then, as Isaiah had predicted, Judah would find that she had merely changed masters, and that the threat of being blotted out in this process would continue unabated. The question merely was, who among the potential heirs of Assyria, Babylon, Media, even Lydia—with Egypt trailing slightly—would execute it.

The political history of the Southern Kingdom during this period, accordingly, lacks substance, or has only as much substance as the tensions or crises within the greater

political body, of which it was a part, would lend to it. Thus the ancient historians found little to report on the long reign—more than fifty years—of Hezekiah's son Manasseh, the short rule of Amon, and the early regnal years of Josiah.

Then, however, History quickens her pace. About the time of Ashurbanipal's death (c. 630) Assyria is on the verge of collapse. To be sure, the Median flood is stemmed in 626/5; but this success merely postpones the catastrophe of Nineveh for another decade and a half. While Assyria is writhing in death throes, little Judah, under energetic young Josiah, gains independence and extends her control over large sections of former Israel—only to lose her freedom again in the struggle of the major powers for supremacy. With the Battle of Megiddo and the death of Josiah in 609, Judah passes under the rule of Egypt. But four years later, in 605, after the Battle of Carchemish, King Jehoiakim has to swear fealty to Nebuchadnezzar victoriously emerging from the contest with Pharaoh Necho. Then we observe the usual scheming to prevent consolidation of the new empire. Judah and the other small nations, stirred up by Egypt to "fight for freedom" (read: Egyptian domination), repeatedly rise against their Babylonian overlord whenever world conditions appear to offer them an opportunity to upset the balance of power by throwing their weight, light as it is, into the scales, until, eventually, Nebuchadnezzar decides to wipe them out. So ends the Kingdom of Judah, so Jerusalem, the City of David, is laid waste, so the Temple of Solomon falls to ashes. Exile is the fate of the leaders and the upper classes of the people.

Prophecy awakens in the very beginning of the crisis, in 628/7, at the moment when the Median armies appear to

be poised for the final onslaught on the Assyrian Empire—and through forty-five agonizing years the tremors of a world in transition resound in the voice of Jeremiah.

* * *

Jerusalem had been saved, the dynasty had survived. However, Judah was ruined, both politically and economically. Naturally, people had their arguments ready, the same they were to advance one hundred and fifteen years later in the face of an even greater disaster (Jer. 44:17 ff.)—the cause was to be found in the abolition of what they had considered the traditional cults. Hezekiah's reform was to blame for it. Thus his successor, MANASSEH (698–643)—only twelve years old at his accession—when he came of age embarked on a program of radical counterreform. All the cults and rites eliminated by his father were revived, and other foreign cults were introduced. As the new spring calendar had been an integral part of the cult reform, it had to be abolished. The old Judean Fall New Year's Day was emphasized again. This had also political implications. Hezekiah, by adopting the Israelite spring calendar, had aimed at facilitating a reunion of Judah and the remnants of Israel in the territory annexed by Assyria. Manasseh, by returning to the old-style calendar, now renounced all secret claims and hopes and re-erected at least part of the former barrier between the two kingdoms. In this respect too, he showed himself subservient to his overlord in Nineveh. Sennacherib's campaign of 701 proved so successful that for the rest of his reign the West did not stir. This is all the more remarkable as his attention was entirely occupied by the affairs of the North and the East, particularly by Babylonia, where old Merodach-Baladan and his

Manasseh

successor and the Elamite kings kept the fire of rebellion burning until Sennacherib stamped it out by destroying Babylon (689/8).

But after the conqueror had been murdered (January, 680), his son, Esarhaddon (680–669), after punishing the assassins, saw himself compelled to quell a revolt of Sidon and one of her northern neighbors (677)—no doubt a result of Egyptian machinations. In the following year, Baal of Tyre, now freed of Sidonian competition, made a pact with Tirhaqa of Egypt. Esarhaddon, in order to attack the evil at the roots, now (in 675) decided upon invading Egypt. Though weather conditions deprived him of success, he kept up operations in the Delta district, in preparation for the final assault, which came in 671. Memphis was carried, the Pharaoh compelled to flee. It was the first time after a lapse of more than one thousand years that an Asiatic conqueror entered the Nile land. The Phoenician and Palestinian rebellions now collapsed.

However, the conquest proved a failure. Rebellion followed rebellion. Thus, in 669, we find Esarhaddon again leading his army against Egypt. But he died on the march (November, 669). His son, Ashurbanipal (Kislev, 669–c. 630), undertook a new expedition in 667. He had the loyal support of Baal of Tyre, Manasseh of Judah, and many more states of Syria-Palestine. Memphis was taken again.

We see that Ashurbanipal had adopted a policy of reconciliation toward the Phoenician king who had revolted against his father; and we have reason to assume that Judah was treated the same way. We know from Chronicles that Manasseh was carried to Babylon and kept there for some time. Apparently, after the initial failure of Esarhaddon's

Egyptian campaigns, he must have wavered in his loyalty. Thus, after the success of 671—or possibly during the expedition of 669—a detachment of the Assyrian army was despatched to Jerusalem. Manasseh, in despair, sacrificed his eldest son. It proved of no avail. He was deported together with his wives and children (if the latter were not slain before his eyes). But Ashurbanipal, who followed the same policy with regard to the rebels in Egypt, reinstated him on his throne, and Manasseh was given an opportunity to prove his loyalty in the campaign of 667.

Now the Judean king was permitted to think about founding a new family, and in November or December, 666, Amon, his successor, was born. Manasseh, worried about the future of the dynasty, saw to it that he married early. Thus, the crown prince was scarcely sixteen years old when the heir apparent was born to him—Josiah (c. November, 650).[66]

Very little more is known about Manasseh. He strengthened the fortifications of Jerusalem, so we are told, and we may date these activities late in his reign, when Assyria's rule over Palestine was weakening, so as to make it both feasible and advisable to prepare for the moment when the yoke could be shaken off. As to his reforms, it seems that they met with violent opposition which he quenched in blood. AMON (643-641), who succeeded him, continued his religious policies. After a reign of only two years, at an age of twenty-four, he was assassinated. But *The People of the Land,* i.e., the representatives of the Judean people, slew the murderers and rescued the dynasty of David. In the beginning of the winter of 641, Josiah, not yet nine years old, ascended the throne.[67]

Assyria, in the meantime, had suffered severe shocks. To be sure, in 663, Ashurbanipal had quelled a new Egyptian revolt, and Thebes (No-Ammon) had been conquered and put to sack (Nahum 3:8). Psammetichus I (663–609), who had just succeeded his father, was recognized as vassal ruler of the Saitic district (in the Nile Delta). However, within a decade he drove out the Assyrian garrisons. Lydia supported him, and in all likelihood he conspired with Ashurbanipal's brother, the king of Babylon, who, assisted by Elam and many others, was to rebel before 653. In the East, Ashurbanipal prevailed after a bitter struggle. Fate also granted him the satisfaction of seeing the destruction of one of the Cimmerian hordes that had ravaged Asia Minor and the border provinces of the Empire. However, the continuous wars had drained the Assyrian resources, and he had no longer the stamina to be omnipresent like his predecessors, putting out the fires blazing up simultaneously on the four corners of the tremendous structure erected by Tiglathpileser.

**Decline of Assyria**

Thus Psammetichus I was able to maintain his independence; and in c. 639 he finally began—either with the tacit or the open approval of Assyria—to extend his influence over Philistia. (Famous twenty-nine years' siege of Ashdod.)

After Ashurbanipal's death (c. 630), the crown was contested among his children, the country torn by faction. This gave Nabopolassar an opportunity to establish himself on the throne of Babylon (626W). By claiming the titles of the Assyrian kings, he laid the foundations of the Neo-Babylonian Empire. In the winter of the same or the spring of the following year,[68] the Medes, led by Phraortes, made a deadly attack. Though repulsed—leaving their king and the bulk of his army on the battlefield—they were to return very

soon, relentlessly increasing their pressure under the leadership of Kyaxares. The Assyrian colossus was tottering. Thus opens *the age of Jeremiah.*

In 628/7 the young prophet makes his first appearance,[68a] and for more than forty years, through the reigns of Josiah and his successors, up to and beyond the catastrophe of Jerusalem, his messages are seeking the ear, the heart of king and people, warning and admonishing, threatening and comforting. The world, shaken in its foundations, is about to return to chaos, before a new cosmos may emerge; mountains and hills are trembling, and fading is the light of the sun. Assyria, like a tremendous dike, is about to break, and the fabulous nations of the dreadful North, surging forward, will sweep away Jerusalem and its inhabitants. What chance of survival has a nation that, by giving up her God and His ethical demands, has given up her identity?—And yet, this terrifying God is God the Creator, is still the eternal God of all-embracing love. Thus, in the new cosmos, born in the writhing heart of the prophet, his people, while going down as a nation, finds survival.

**Josiah**

The character of JOSIAH (641–609), like that of David and many of his house, shows that curious blend of genuine religious devotion, even creative missionary spirit and realistic political shrewdness. And fully was he to use these gifts in exploiting the unique opportunity offered to him. The collapse of Assyria created a vacuum in which he could move freely, unhampered by anybody's interference. Before he came of age, his advisors had made him marry very young. Thus, he was not yet sixteen years old when two sons, Johanan and Eliakim (the later King Jehoiakim), were born to him by two of his wives. The dynasty was safe. In the following year, 633/2, the eighth

of his reign, the plans for a religious and political reorganization of the two sister nations, now to be re-united under his rule, were mapped out. That was exactly three hundred years after Jeroboam's founding of the altar in Bethel, which marked the definitive secession of Israel from Judah. And soon after the death of Ashurbanipal these plans were to be realized. With the Assyrian garrisons gradually withdrawing to their troubled homeland, Josiah annexed most of former Israel west of the Jordan, including Galilee (Naphtali), and while Psammetichus was continuing his pressure on Philistia, the young king occupied—as it seems, with Egyptian approval (Jer. 2:18,36)—the South with Beersheba and the Negeb, as well as the West close to the coast, districts lost to the Philistines after Sennacherib's invasion of 701. Civil and military administration was now so organized as to integrate the different parts into a united state.

Parallel ran the religious reform. The first step was taken in 629/8 with the destruction of the foreign cults, particularly those introduced in subservience to Assyria. Precisely as in the case of Hezekiah, this amounted virtually to a declaration of independence. The subsequent years were devoted to the extermination of the Canaanite cults and Canaanite forms of YHWH worship in both the country and the Temple. Finally, in the beginning of the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign, in the fall of 623, it was decided to return to Hezekiah's policy of reconciliation, viz., to adopt the Ephraimite custom of beginning the year in the spring, and to usher in the new era with a joint celebration of the Passover. Thus the South made concessions to the North for the sake of facilitating a reunion and speeding up unification.

The Temple is being prepared for that great occasion.

The money needed for the repairs is to be taken from the box into which worshipers had dropped their small gifts. When the seal is broken, Hilkiah, the priest, makes a startling discovery. A scroll is found, a book of Torah—most likely the core of the Deuteronomy. How long it had been hidden there, nobody can tell.

The king is deeply impressed by its contents. The prophetess Huldah is asked for advice, and the reformatory activities are intensified. A convocation is called at the Temple. The book is read in public; and solemnly king and people of Judah enter into a covenant with their God.

In the following spring (622) they publicly celebrated the Passover with great pomp, and the delegates of the Israelite tribes joined in. Satisfied with the acceptance of their tradition concerning the beginning of the year, they were now ready to agree to the destruction of the cult in Bethel, established by Jeroboam I. This, so it appears, was carried out one year later on the anniversary of the founding of the altar. Now throughout Israel, the remnants of Canaanite worship were eradicated as they had been in Judah. The country "from Dan to Beersheba" was unified. Bethel, the political and religious barrier, had fallen. *One* king throned in Jerusalem, *One* God was worshiped in *One* Temple. There were no rivals.

This does not mean, of course, that those cults were destroyed root and stock. They survived under the surface and in hiding and were to break through into the open as soon as circumstances were favorable; and whenever there was an opportunity they would, in disguise, sneak in through the back door—a phenomenon well known from the early history of Christianity. But officially they were declared dead.

The social, political, and religious implications of this revolution, involving, e.g., the uprooting of an entire class of country priests, cannot be discussed in this context. But we need not doubt that there was a strong opposition to the king's policy, which kept quiet only as long as Josiah's reign was blessed with success. After his catastrophe, as we know from Jeremiah and Ezekiel, they were to raise their heads openly, protected by the successors of the reformer.

He was to be drawn into the whirlpool caused by the disappearance of the once so majestic Assyrian Empire in the thundering waves of History. Kyaxares, the Mede, and Nabopolassar, the Babylonian, rivals in their claim to the succession of the Assyrian rulers, continued their drive. In 614, Ashur, the old capital, fell, and in 612, Nineveh was conquered and destroyed by the Medes. The last king of Assyria perished in the ruins of his capital.

**Assyria's Fall**

At the very moment when Kyaxares was about to raise the standard of a new Median Empire on the ruins of the Assyrian, he was to be deprived of the fruits of his victory. The Scythians—dynastic ties and possibly an outright alliance with Assyria would have served them as pretext for an intervention—now came to terms with Nabopolassar, who had become apprehensive of the growth of his Median ally. Though too late to save Nineveh, they attacked and defeated the Medes. Now they donned the imperial attire, and for twenty-eight years they were recognized as the lords of Asia. Only then, after the famous Medo-Lydian battle of May 28, 585, had finally settled the issue, was Kyaxares, shortly before his death, so fortunate to realize the dream of his life: to see the Medes masters of Asia.[69]

Nabopolassar, an able diplomat, knew how to manage

his barbarian overlords, practically treating them as allies. Egyptian interference was to be kept out while he was consolidating his position. Accordingly, in the following year (611), the Scythian hordes swept down to the borders of Egypt, where Psammetichus, still busy with the siege of Ashdod, stemmed the flood by the only effective means: gold and valuables. They returned after plundering Ashkelon. The Pharaoh cashed in on their successes over the Philistines by taking Ashdod.[70]

In the meantime, Nabopolassar had been busy clearing away the debris of the Assyrian Empire. Ashuruballit, a nobleman or royal prince who had survived the fall of Nineveh, had unexpectedly re-established the Assyrian throne in Haran. But in the fall (Marheshvan) of 610, the Babylonian joined arms with the returning Scythians and conquered the new capital. Assyria appeared to be definitively destroyed. Nabopolassar disbanded his army and sent his allies away (March, 609).

Psammetichus, whose plans of intervention had been foiled by the Scythian invasion of Palestine, died at the crucial moment when the Assyrian cause seemed to be lost to friend and enemy alike. But his son Necho (609–594) had no sooner heard the surprising news of the demobilization of the Babylonian army than he decided to take advantage of the rare chance Fortuna had dropped into his lap. Nominally still Assyria's vassal, he could now actually reverse the roles by maintaining a puppet ruler on the throne of the Assyrian rump state. The re-establishment of the Egyptian Empire within the borders determined by the conquests of Thutmose III, almost nine hundred years before his time, was within his reach. Hastily he put his army on a war footing and set out for the Euphrates.

XIII.

The Realm of Josiah
*(Megiddo–Carchemish)*

1. *Disintegration of Assyria*

c. 630 Ashurbanipal dies—crisis
626 (Fall) Nabopolassar seizes crown of Babylon—
626/5 Median invasion repulsed

2. *Growth of Josiah.* c. 629–609

629/8 Destruction of foreign cults (628/7 Jeremiah starts his career)

*a*) He recovers the South and West of Judah (lost by Hezekiah in 701);

*b*) extends control over most of former Israel, west of the Jordan—

(Moab and Ammon occupy Gilead)

622 DEUTERON. REFORM: Religious & polit. *unification of Judah-Israel*

*(Shaded:* Approx. territory)

3. *Advance of Egypt*

Psammetichus I extends control over Philistia (c. 639–611 "Siege of Ashdod")

4. *The Death Struggle of Assyria*

612 Fall of Nineveh—*Haran capital* of an Assyrian rump state;
611 *Scythian invasion* of Palestine blocks Egyptian help to Haran;
610 (Fall) The Scyths return from Pal., join Babylonians in Haran siege;
609 (c. Feb.) Haran taken

5. *Necho's March to Haran,* 609

*a*) MEGIDDO: he breaks through Josiah's defenses of the Carmel pass —*Josiah slain* (c. June 1)— Jehoahaz king of Judah;

*b*) N. joins Assyrians at Carchemish —Crossing the Euphrates, they *take Haran* (Sept.)—during the siege he returns to *Riblah:* reorganizes Palestine, deports Jehoahaz—appoints *Jehoiakim king of Judah* (August).

6. *Assur's End—Necho's Defeat* 609–605

609W–607S [Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar secure northern flank: campaigns ag. Urartu and mountain tribes]
607W–606W [Nabopolassar attacks Egypt's Euphrates defenses]
Result: Haran completely isolated
606 *Scyths take Haran*—destroy it.
605 CARCHEMISH (Mar.?): Necho defeated—Nebuch. advances to the Egyptian border—*Judah a Babylonian vassal*—[August]: Nebuch. calls off Egyptian invasion—returns to Babylon—ascends throne [Elul 1 = Sept. 7]—
Judah and the others immediately think of rebellion (Jer. 25) —[Winter: Neb. again in Syria—receives tribute.]
604 [Neb. in Syria (Sivan-Kislev)—kings pay tribute—Kislev: Askelon falls]
(In Kislev: Jer. 36:9 ff.)

Brackets explained below, in "Supplementary Note"

However, Josiah, anticipating that realization of Necho's ambition would inevitably mean the end of his newly gained independence, tried to thwart his plans. At the pass of *Megiddo,* where the highway crossing the Carmel narrows down so as to permit a comparatively small force to oppose an enemy superior in numbers with a fair chance of success, he drew up his army.[71] Necho, however, like Thutmose of old, smashed the barrier. The battle was decided in its very beginning, when Josiah was mortally wounded by an arrow (c. June 1, 609). Without worrying about what was happening in his rear, the Pharaoh now rushed to the Euphrates, to the bridgehead of Carchemish, still held by Ashuruballit. Jointly crossing the river, they threw back the Assyrian garrison into Haran. Nabopolassar, taken by surprise, was unable to remobilize his army fast enough. Thus, in Elul (September), Haran had to capitulate to the allies.

**Megiddo — The End of Judean Independence, 609**

After the initial successes, while the siege of Haran was under way, Necho could think of reorganizing Palestine. For this purpose he took headquarters at Riblah, in the strategic Orontes Valley (August). There, following his summons, Josiah's son Shallum appeared before him. As the choice of the people, he had ascended the throne under the name of JEHOAHAZ (June to August, 609), obviously in the expectation of carrying on his father's program. Necho deposed and deported him and put his older brother, the pro-Egyptian Eliakim, known under his throne name JEHOIAKIM (August, 609–January/February 597), in his place. The young king was to prove his loyalty throughout his life.

But even with Egyptian support Ashuruballit could not

maintain himself against the continuous pressure exerted by Babylon and her Scythian allies. When Haran was ripe for the fall, Nabopolassar left it to the Scythians, who plundered and demolished city and temples (606). In the spring of 605 the aging king entrusted his son Nebuchadnezzar with the command of the army. Turning against Necho, who, reinforced by contingents of his Phoenician, Syrian, and Judean vassals, had taken position behind the Euphrates, at *Carchemish*, where the ancient highway (and still the modern railway) crosses the river, the crown prince defeated him (March ?, 605) and drove him back to the Egyptian border. However, late in August, when preparing for an invasion of Egypt that would crush the Pharaoh—and Jeremiah actually expected that to happen—he was compelled by the news of his father's death to hurry back to Babylon. Necho was saved.

**Judah Under Babylonian Rule**

Judah was now under Babylonian rule. Jehoiakim, who in c. March/April, toward the close of the third official year of his reign, had been arrested, was reinstated on the throne as Nebuchadnezzar's vassal. However, the absence of the conqueror gave Egypt a free hand for her intrigues; and though (as new documents tell us) he returned after a few months and reappeared in Syria year by year, Philistia, Edom, Moab, Ammon, the leading Syrian states, and later also Tyre and Sidon, prepared for sedition and finally drew Judah into their fold. The appearance of a Babylonian army, or the mere threat of war, in 601, however, induced Jehoiakim to fulfill his vassal duties for three years. (In Kislev, so the new records inform us, this army had to turn against Egypt proper in order to block Egyptian interference for a few years.) But then, in 598, he with-

held the tribute. Egyptian diplomacy had persuaded him to join a coalition of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon.

Nebuchadnezzar's reaction was quick and vigorous. He invested Tyre, which he was to besiege unsuccessfully for thirteen years (598–586), and marched into Palestine. We do not know what happened to the other members of the league. But in Tebet (January 16 to February 13, 597), his forces closed in on Jerusalem. Jehoiakim suddenly died —most likely he was slain—and his son JEHOIACHIN (February to April 22, 597) was appointed his successor; 3,023 Judeans were deported.

The young king, however, was immediately drawn into the net of anti-Babylonian machinations. Thus Nebuchadnezzar—from his headquarters near Tyre (Riblah?)—instructed his generals to resume the siege. When he personally joined them, Jehoiachin surrendered without resistance (Adar 2=March 16). A short reprieve raised hopes. But the Babylonian, who in the meantime had rushed to other tasks, decided for severe punishment. He ordered his generals to collect a heavy tribute and to carry away the Temple treasures. On Nisan 10 (April 22, 597), the Judean king was deposed. He with his family and court, 7000 men of the upper classes, and one thousand craftsmen were deported—an enormous sapping of both the economic and military resources of the country. In his stead, his uncle Mattaniah, a son of Josiah, was appointed ruler of Judah under the throne name of ZEDEKIAH (597–586).

Hardly had the Babylonians left when ambassadors of Judah's allies appeared again in Jerusalem, urging the king to honor the pledges of his predecessors. Public opinion, stirred up by nationalist prophets predicting the imminent downfall of Nebuchadnezzar and the return of the exiles,

was in favor of it. Jeremiah warned and, in a dramatic scene, carried an iron yoke, symbolizing the stability of Nebuchadnezzar's rule (Jer. 27 and 28, dated in and before August, 597);[72] and no less dramatic was his correspondence with the exiles, advising them not to listen to the beguiling speeches of irresponsible demagogues (Jer. 29). It goes without saying that the warner was called a traitor who was persecuted by the war party. For years his life was threatened.

But Zedekiah resisted the pressure of the nationalists and the entreaties of Tyre and her friends for a considerable time. When there were signs of wavering, it was enough that Nebuchadnezzar summoned him to Babylon for report (593). However, between the fall of 591 and the fall of 590, a crisis arose which compelled Nebuchadnezzar to keep sizable forces in readiness for an emergency in Asia. By a ruse murdering the leaders of the Scythians, Kyaxares the Mede put an end to the dominion of the barbarians in the twenty-second year of their rule over "Upper Asia."[73] Alyattes of Lydia seized upon the opportunity and assumed the role of their protector. A war ensued, lasting six years, which after the battle of May 28, 585, famous on account of the sun eclipse predicted by Thales, was mediated by the kings of Babylonia and Cilicia. The claim of the Scythians to the lordship over Upper Asia, nominally upheld during the war years, was now definitively wiped off the slates. Lydia and Media divided the spoils. The marriage of Alyattes' daughter to Astyages, the crown prince of Media, who was to succeed his father before the fall of that year, cemented a friendship treaty signed in the fall-year 585/4. The balance of power was re-established. Nebuchadnezzar could breathe again.

For six years the deadly threat of one of the contestants emerging as the master of Asia in its entirety had been hanging over his head, and Egypt, in close contact with Lydia since the time of Psammetichus I, at the very outset correctly appraised the scope of the crisis. Thus Psammetichus II (594–588) succeeded in persuading Zedekiah that this was the moment to cast off the Babylonian yoke. Accordingly, the Judean king, bitterly denounced by Ezekiel, in 590 broke the oath of fealty.

**Zedekiah Rebels, 590 B.C.**

Nebuchadnezzar, whose army was still beleaguering Tyre, struck a quick blow. Speed and bold action were meant to compensate for the weakness in man power. Jerusalem was invested. But Psammetichus kept his pledge. An Egyptian army of succor moved up from the south, and Nebuchadnezzar, unable to fight on two fronts, had to raise the siege in order to face the new threat. Though victoriously repulsing the Egyptians, he realized that his reserves did not warrant a continuation of the siege of Jerusalem. There was actually no need to press it. Since the entire country of Judah was in his hands, with his garrisons holding its cities and fortresses, the capital, completely isolated, remained virtually, though not technically, under siege. But officially it was raised. The bulk of the Babylonian army left. The Judean nationalists appeared splendidly vindicated. Jeremiah was discredited. And yet, he continued his warnings. (The situation is richly illustrated by Ezek. 17 and Jer. 34 and 37 f..)

Not everybody was so overconfident. Defeatists were quite numerous, and many deserted to the Babylonians. Thus we learn that in the following year (589) 832 Jerusalemites were deported. They obviously preferred exile to

a heroic end in the inevitable catastrophe. It was the eleventh hour.

Soon the treacherous respite is over. In 588, Nebuchadnezzar returns, sweeping all opposition away. Egyptian help fails to materialize. Psammetichus II had died in February, and during the first year of Hophra (588–569), Egypt, unable to offer effective resistance in Palestine, appears to Ezekiel in its proverbial role, even as the staff of reed that splits asunder, wounding the one who leans upon it. Thus, on January 4, 587, siege is laid to Jerusalem. It was to last eighteen months without interruption. That this expedition will also entail punishment, if not subjugation, of Egypt, is a foregone conclusion—so Ezekiel is convinced (29:1 ff., dated two days after the beginning of the siege). Jeremiah's advice to surrender in time is not heeded by Zedekiah; the nationalists prevail. Hophra (Apries) brings help in the spring, but is repulsed: "his arm is broken" (Ezek. 30:20 ff., dated April 29, 587); and again the prophet predicts the downfall of Egypt. Seven weeks later Ezekiel sounds a new threat against the Pharaoh. Egypt appears paralyzed —no help is forthcoming. Thus in July, 586, Jerusalem, weakened by hunger, can no longer ward off the attacks. The walls are breached. City and Temple are destroyed, the upper class is deported. Zedekiah, while trying to escape, is captured and brought before Nebuchadnezzar, who, like Necho, had chosen Riblah headquarters on account of its position midway between the two foci of his attention. After seeing his sons slain before his eyes, the rebel is blinded. In chains he is carried to Babylon.

None of the other allies suffered so hard a fate, and Tyre particularly emerged in good shape. Nebuchadnezzar, anxious to free his forces for the impending decision in

Asia, offered her favorable terms. The Queen of the Seas, now practically isolated, accepted. Thus in the year of the Fall of Jerusalem, a treaty was concluded which guaranteed the Phoenician metropolis her independence. The siege, now in its thirteenth year, accordingly was raised—an event so epoch-making that Ithobaal, the ruler of Tyre, ushered in an Era of Independence. With bitterness in his voice, Ezekiel (26:1–6), when learning of the peace negotiations, advised the fortunate city not to exult too much in having been spared the fate of the Judean capital.[74]

As to Egypt, a Babylonian invasion would have been the logical sequence to the war against Judah. The prophet had been expecting it all the time and was expecting it again on Adar 1, 586/5, i.e., March 3, 585 (Ezek. 32:1–16). Most likely he knew of great military preparations which tended to confirm his belief. But Nebuchadnezzar did not move. He could not afford to tie up his forces in Palestine or at the Nile. The Lydo-Median War held his attention. He had to be ready to intervene in one way or another. And actually the opportunity came less than three months after these addresses. The eclipse of the sun stopped the battle of May 28; and the warring parties accepted his offer of mediation. The peace negotiations kept him busy for the rest of the year.

Thus he had to be satisfied with whatever success he had scored in the Southwest: the Pharaoh's arm broken, the nations of Palestine stunned with terror, Judah wiped out, Jerusalem, the City of David, in ruins.

XIV

## The End of Judah

Coalitions of 601, 598, and 590–86
Known members shaded
They seem to have counted on Elam (Jer. 49:34 ff. of 597/6 and fragmentary record of 596)
Uncertain: how long after Carchemish Judah, Moab, Ammon were left in control of the Assyrian provinces on the soil of former Israel, occupied in the time of Josiah. To what extent was Philistia active, which in 604 and after 586 put up resistance?

603 [Neb. in Syria—Siege of ?] (Damascus?)

602 [Neb. in Syria—receives tribute]

601 JEHOIAKIM'S PLAN OF REVOLT FOILED
by approach of Babylonian army—
J. pays tribute in 601, 600, 599—
[*Kislev:* Neb. ag. Egypt] to block interference—[repulsed]

599 [Raids ag. Arabs] (Jer. 49:28 ff.)

598 JEHOIAKIM JOINS REVOLT—[Neb. sets out in Kislev]—lays siege to Tyre

597 *c. Feb. 1* (Tebet): J. dies (slain?) when Babylonians reach Jerusalem—3,000 Judeans deported—
Jehoiachin king—
Neb. orders siege resumed—
[*Adar 2*] (Mar. 16): J. surrenders—
*Nisan 10: deposed*—deported with 7,000 nobles—
Zedekiah king—
*Aug.:* Not joining anti-Bab. league

596 [Neb. ag. Elam?] (Jer. 49:34 ff.)

595 and 594 [N. in Syria]

591/0 Medo-Lydian War started

590 REBELLION—FIRST SIEGE OF JERUSALEM
Psamtik II forces N. to raise siege

587 *Jan. 4:* Siege resumed—
Egyptian help ineffective

586 *July 19:* JERUSALEM TAKEN—EXILE
The allies continue resistance

# Conclusion

## World Crisis and Return From Exile

THE REMNANTS of the unhappy nation could not easily disentangle themselves from the net of world politics. Though Judah and Tyre had been removed from the league, Egypt, Philistia, Edom, Moab, and Ammon carried on with their anti-Babylonian activities. *Gedaliah,* the governor of Judah, appointed by Nebuchadnezzar, was murdered by nationalist assassins led by Ismael, a scion of the royal house, who had found refuge in Ammon. The leaders of the people, after driving out the murderers still apprehensive of being accused of complicity, fled to Egypt—against the advice of Jeremiah—forcing the prophet to join them. The neighbor nations, while continuing their intrigues against Babylon, took advantage of the helplessness of Judah (Ezek. 25). On the other hand, nationalist propaganda did not permit the country to come to a rest.

**Aftermath**

Thus, in 584, Nebuchadnezzar, in order to stamp out the spirit of rebellion, had to deport 745 Judeans.[75] Finally, in 582, he undertook a campaign in which he destroyed three more members of the league—Moab, Ammon, and

Philistia. But for reasons unknown—possibly a revolt of Urartu (Armenia) with Scythian and Mannean support, as we might infer from Jer. 51:27, or simply Median pressure—he had to hurry home before he could inflict the same fate on Edom. Egypt again escaped invasion.

And now, Pharaoh Hophra, seeing his opportunity, struck a tremendous blow at the Babylonian Empire. In c. 581, he made an expedition by land and sea against Phoenicia and Cyprus through which he brought Tyre, Sidon, and the leading cities into submission. The Edomites and "the remnant of the nations roundabout," freed of Babylonian supervision, now established themselves in the deserted country of Judah, which caused Ezekiel to break out into furious fulminations. For approximately ten years the Pharaoh retained the control of all the lands up to the Lebanon—if not farther. Necho's, his grandfather's, dream again had come true.

**Egypt Conquers Palestine, c. 581 B.C.**

But in c. 572, Nebuchadnezzar was ready for a counterattack. Conquering the Lebanon district, he invested and captured Sidon and, *for a second time,* laid siege to Tyre. Her king, Baal (575–565), unlike his predecessor Ithobaal unable to hold out, had to capitulate in 570 or 569. The royal princes were taken to Babylon for education—as hostages. A governor was appointed, and after the king's death the monarchy was abolished for some time. An aristocratic constitution, with Judges at the helm, was established (565–557).

**Babylon's Counterblow. Second Siege of Tyre**

Ezekiel's comments accompany all these events to the height of the siege of Tyre, whose success he envisages.

Then he expects Nebuchadnezzar to continue his drive, to punish Edom and "the remnant of the nations roundabout" for their insolence in occupying Judah, to crush Egypt, and to permit the exiles—cleansed by their suffering—to return to the Holy Land as his loyal subjects. The expectations are high, and we have in his book, dated just before the start of the Babylonian counteroffensive (573), a draft of a constitution of an ideal Temple State—if not from the hand of the prophet, then from that of a contemporary.

But before Tyre capitulated the prophet's voice was silenced—either by death or by political circumstances.

The predicted attack on Egypt proper, possibly coupled with the destruction of Edom, actually took place. In 568, Nebuchadnezzar invaded the Nile land and defeated the new Pharaoh, the usurper Amasis (569–526). The crisis preceding the throne revolt had prevented Hophra from lending effective aid to Tyre, while the Babylonian successes in Phoenicia, in turn, had helped to undermine his prestige, thus facilitating his overthrow. The new Pharaoh, of course, had to renounce Hophra's Palestinian conquests, but was left on the throne and entered into a friendship, if not a vassal, treaty with the conqueror. Egypt retained its traditional ties with Lydia across the Mediterranean. With the direct Lydo-Babylonian relations growing in importance, they served as a second strand connecting the Babylonian sphere (extending from Mesopotamia to the Nile) with the Lydian Empire. Thus a triangular net was knit between Babylon in the east, Memphis in the south, and Sardis in the west, designed to check the ever growing Median menace. Palestine and Syria now were to remain under Babylonian rule until the fall of Babylon—only to pass into the Persian Empire.

However, the excited hopes of Ezekiel and the exiles were not to be realized so soon. Nebuchadnezzar died in 562, only six years after his Egyptian campaign, and his son and successor, Evil-Merodach, who, when releasing King Jehoiachin of Judah from prison (March, 560), might have been preparing farther-reaching measures, was murdered in the course of the same year. The usurper died in 556. A few months later his son, a mere boy, fell as a victim of a conspiracy that raised Nabonidus (556–539) to the throne.

—Cyrus—Return from the Exile

But now it was too late for experiments. A new star was rising—*Cyrus*. In 553 he attacked, and in 550 he conquered the Median Empire, which only recently—in exploiting the paralyzing effects of the internal Babylonian crisis—had demonstrated strong expansionist tendencies, throwing a ring around Haran. In the following year, 549,[76] King Croesus and Sardis, his capital, fell into the hands of the irresistible Persian who thus became master of the Lydian Empire. Ten years later, in the fall of 539, Cyrus the Great entered Babylon.

Now finally the incessant propaganda of the exiles had its effect, and the high-pitched hopes of the prophets were fulfilled. In 538, the lord of all Asia, now entering his first year as king of Babylon, ushered in the new era with the promulgation of an edict permitting the Jews to return and "to go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord, God of Israel, that is in Jerusalem."

Thus Sheshbazzar went; and in 537, in its seventieth year, the end of the "Babylonian Servitude" (counted from Jehoiakim's submission in 606/5) was celebrated with the laying of the cornerstone of the new Temple.

# Epilogue

A NEW AGE, indeed, had begun. But instead of occupying the center of the new world, the Jews found themselves relegated to the periphery hardly reached by the rays of the rising sun. Thus, what in the glowing dreams of the exiles had appeared as the end of all tribulations was only to prove the beginning of experiences bitter and disappointing. The naïve belief—most immature, though humanly understandable—that with the throw of a switch the world would be directed to definitive tracks, with no new tasks, no new trials ahead, had to undergo fermentation and transformation. Only then could it become a major force in the growth of human civilization.

The Jews had to learn that solving one problem means being faced with a new one; had to realize that only those have a future who are willing at every turn to take upon themselves new responsibilities. They had to make the discovery that insecurity was the great secret of all creative existence; had to discover that security was not something static but rather a process or a continuity of processes in which life simultaneously decomposes and rebuilds the cells within a living body. And while the eyes of the nation were glued to the standard pattern of group existence, the genius of the people, in continuous struggle with reality, developed

a unique organism through which the values of the past would become seed for the future.

* * *

Like a river swallowed by the desert the enthusiasm of those returning with Sheshbazzar spent itself without results. There was the callousness, if not antagonism, of the Persian bureaucracy; there was the opposition of the neighbors uneasily anticipating the claims the re-established community might raise in the future; and there was the intrigues of the quasi-Israelite settlers of foreign extraction whose offer to join in the undertaking was rejected by the returning exiles asserting to be the true Israel, purified in the smelter of suffering. And the economic problems were not less formidable.

Thus the work bogged down. For almost two decades, the lights are dimmed again.

Then once more the sun of the new age, breaking through storm clouds, sends one of its rays to dispel the mist over the forgotten corner of history. It gathers on the brow of Zerubbabel. That was in 521 B.C. In the midst of a crisis that threatened to blow the young Persian Empire to pieces, the great Darius appointed the youthful Davidic prince governor of the province of Judah. At the head of a new group of exiles Zerubbabel journeyed to Jerusalem to begin again where the efforts of the first group, led by his uncle Sheshbazzar, had met with failure. In the fall of 520, prophetic prodding succeeded in overcoming hesitancy. Construction of the Temple was resumed. Opposition arose, caused new delay. But the claim of the Jews that an edict of Cyrus legalized their undertaking was confirmed by records pre-

served in the archives of the Persian Empire. Thus, finally, in the sixth year of Darius, in the month of Adar (March, 515) the Temple was completed.

But the hopes which had been soaring so high were not fulfilled. Neither could the new structure compare with Solomon's splendid creation, nor could the insignificant Temple State, confined to Jerusalem and its surroundings, stand comparison with David's empire. And instead of rising like a brilliant star on the sky, the little community is removed from sight into the haze of the horizon while the full light is concentrated on the coasts of Ionia and Attica where mankind entered a new great formative period in the exciting clash of East and West, in the struggle between Hellenic liberty and Oriental despotism.

More than five hundred, in fact, almost one thousand years were to elapse before this new strand had been intertwined with the old one, braided in the land of Canaan. And in the constant process of interweaving and reweaving emerged "on the humming loom of Time" as "Deity's living garment" the colorful picture of Western Civilization.

* * *

When after the eclipse of Zerubbabel we catch a new glimpse of Jewish history, we behold a new caravan of exiles moving toward Jerusalem in 458; at its head Ezra, commissioned by King Artaxerxes to reorganize the disintegrating Jewish community on the basis of the Torah. Drastic methods had to be employed to halt the process of decomposition. They had to be re-employed by Nehemiah before two decades had elapsed.

There was a great political achievement of Nehemiah,

the new governor (445 till after 433). Under his leadership the Jews succeeded in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem—the most important symbol of statehood. But then, the little community again vanishes from sight.

When it emerges at the end of the Persian period, insignificant as before, Judaism has gone through one of its most important stages of development, has made one of the most momentous contributions to civilization. Under Persian administration it has created a world-wide church organization—the *Keneset ha-gedolah,* the Great Synagogue.[77]

This *Synagoga Magna,* though disintegrating with Alexander's empire, left behind the idea of a religious life and a religious organization transcending the bonds of statehood: the idea of congregational existence within an oecumenic body not identical with the state. Slowly growing and unfolding, it reaped a new idea of religion—the Western idea.

It was only through this medium that the message of the prophets, the great creative thinkers, was spread and channeled across the world into everyday's life—even if these channels narrowed and slowed down the waters originally cascading from lofty heights.

The new form of community existence was to the children of Abraham the living vessel of the truth revealed to their forefather—and for the sake of this truth which could not be compromised they made one more momentous contribution to civilization transcending the limits of statehood. It was the struggle of the Maccabees that burned itself into human consciousness as the first fight for freedom of religion, freedom of worship, freedom of conscience, freedom of thought. As a prototype and ideal it became a major force in the rise of Christianity, again in the breaking up of the

Middle Ages, and again, in modern times, in the emergence of a new nation that inscribed on its birthday bell the Biblical *Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land.*

* * *

Our thoughts have run full cycle. Again we behold the wondrous sight, and again are we musing. Again—but on a new level in the process of self-discovery—are we impressed with the complexities of this simple fact:

The lion seal of Shema, which decorates the cover of this book, the symbol of political power in the hand of a high official, minister to a great monarch, Jeroboam II—it was found in the rubble of one of his royal cities—a mere accident.

But Amos, whom they tried to suppress, Isaiah, whom they killed, and Jeremiah, whom they persecuted, are still alive.

And yet the political history of Ancient Israel reveals a world so fascinating, so modern, that at times we may lose sight of what sprang from that soil. But to turn to that question means to pose the all-embracing problem of the human mind—religious, sociological, philosophical, and cultural.

Of this we ought to be aware when closing this book.

# Appendix

# Notes

A. Acknowledgment. The difficult task of suggesting necessary changes which would be in keeping with the author's style was successfully solved by Fanny Berg (Mrs. Harry Berg) of Cincinnati, Ohio. She read the first draft of the manuscript with deep insight into the interrelation between contents and expression. Her notes, which served as a basis for highly valuable discussions, aided the author greatly in editing the text.

B. The Maps (based on Forrer's *Provinzeinteilung)* are not the work of a cartographer. The author's rough sketches, not drawn to scale, were aesthetically improved upon by an art student.* *Important:* Quite often the Assyrian provinces were merely the core of the former states which gave them their names.

With this in mind, the reader will find the maps a help both for quick orientation and for intensive study. At the same time, he may appreciate the idea to make him anticipate the end product of the struggle at any point between the reign of David and the Exile.

C. Chronological Survey. With the exception of the portion of the *Egypt* column before the time of Psammetik I, the table in its entirety is based on the author's original chronological studies (both published and unpublished). The Assyrian kings are given according to the Khorsobad list (Poebel in *JNES* II).

D. Julian Equivalents of the old dates after 626 B.C. are those of Parker-Dubberstein. The rest, where available, are taken from Kugler; the remaining cases are rough approximations.

1. *Biblical Chronology I:* The prospectus announcing in 1944 the publication of this basic study closed with the remark: "The author will be indebted to those critics who prove convincingly that basic mistakes have been made in this study." However, no such criticism has been forthcoming. In fact, several scholars, personally urged by the author to "tear his *Biblical Chronology* to shreds" by exposing its discrepancies or inconsistencies, either declared their incompetence or pleaded lack of time. In a short review of the "I cannot believe" type critical remarks, varying from slight distortion to outright misrepresentation, were topped with a statement ascribing to the author an opinion which he had rejected in a pivotal passage of his *Chronology*. This testifies to the reviewer's inability to understand the book and its methods, simple though they are. On the other hand, the author

had the pleasure to find a case of unconscious borrowing—evidence of the convincing and suggestive power of some of his interpretations. For a well known scholar adopted and incorporated them into one of his interpretations in the obvious belief that they originated with him. (Compare *HUCA* 19, 1945–46, p. 510 f., notes 42–46, with my *Biblical Chronology I,* Appendix E.)

2. It was Eduard Meyer who coined the term *Atempause der Weltgeschichte* when describing the conditions which made the rise of Israel possible.

3. The extent of David's empire will be discussed in a special study. Close examination of the evidence available will show that as a result of his victories over the Ammonites and the Arameans not merely the "fringes" but the actual borders touched the Euphrates.

4. We may venture the thesis that Assyria owes its recovery to the men and forces responsible for the disintegration of the Davidic empire.

5. The laconic excerpt from the Israelite annals, 1 K. 12:25, offers no explanation for the building of Penuel; but it is quite obvious that it was mainly necessitated by Moab's advance. (See also the discussion of the Mesha stele, below, n. 20.—Morgenstern: *Amos Studies,* vol. I, 1941, p. 208, n. 37, has arrived at the same conclusion.) In the beginning, no doubt, the immediate danger was that of an Ammonite attack. Then, however, it seems that Moab became the leading power. So it is not unlikely that Ammon, in 853 B.C. an independent member of the anti-Assyrian coalition, owed its liberty to Omri's victories over Moab.

The *Jephthah correspondence* (Judges 11) seems to reflect—if not to use—the state correspondence exchanged between Israel and Moab when Omri began the reconquest of southern Gilead.

If we are right in dating this campaign in c. 895, then, strikingly enough, the problematic *three hundred years* of Israelite settlement in those districts (Judges 11:26) turn out to be a historical figure, precise almost to the year. (See my *Biblical Chronology I,* p. 4.) At any rate it would tally with the tradition which dates the conquest of Canaan in approximately 1200 B.C. (A detailed analysis will be submitted in a special study.)

6. See my *Biblical Chronology I,* p. 17 and Appendix G.

7. Only after ascertaining the fact of Abijah's coregency (see my *Biblical Chronology I)* were we enabled to understand 1 K. 15:6—seemingly a misplaced doublet. I am inclined to date the war in the very beginning of the regency and to count the "36 years of Asa" (2 Ch. 16:1) from the loss of Bethel to 888 B.C. (Will be discussed in a special study.)—Incidentally, it could have been the loss of Bethel that caused Jeroboam to establish the cult of Dan as a substitute for the lost sanctuary.

7*a*. Synchronisms ##7 and 8a, dating Nadab's "death" and Baasha's accession in 'Asa 4/5'=911W, seem to indicate that Baasha rose as pretender to the crown as soon as Jeroboam closed his eyes.

8. All attempts to identify Zerah the Cushite are based on mere guess-

work—no matter how brilliant. It is well possible that he was merely a chieftain of a marauding tribe dwelling in the south.

9. If we were correct in dating Baasha's attack on Jerusalem in 888 (see above, n. 7) and that on Moab in c. 895 (notes 5 and 20), then the historical picture emerging is of striking consistency and logic. Baasha had first to re-conquer southern Gilead and to weaken Moab (through Omri, his general) before he could consider himself strong enough to launch the campaign against Asa of Judah. It is worth noting that the "36th year of Asa" counted in Israelite style from 'Abijah R1' (see above, n. 7) would coincide with 'Asa 27' which, in turn, is the Masoretic date for "the end of Elah."

10. Cp. the Kilammu inscription: Kilammu, attacked by an enemy, "hired against him the king of Ashur." Same terminology is to be found in 2 S 10:6; 2 K. 7:6.

11. The memory of Joram, Tibni's brother, is preserved in the Greek version only.—MARRIAGE OF AHAB IN 880. The date is a fair approximation, derived from the *exact data* (given in italics) and based on the reasonable assumption that Jezebel was Athaliah's mother (which many scholars simply take for granted).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a. Ithobaal* | *born* | *925* | *(king at 36 in last third of 889/8)* |
| *b.* Jezebel | born | c. 896 | (upper margin c. 902) |
| c. | | *880* | *(summer?) Tibni eliminated* |
| *d.* 16+ yrs. | married | 880 | c. Oct.—Ahab c. 25 years old |
| *e.* Athaliah | born | 879 | c. June—*Joram born 881* |
| *f.* 14¾ | married | c. 864 | c. Apr. *(betw. March 65 and May 64)* |
| *g.* Ahaziah | born | c. 864 | c. Dec. *(betw. Dec. 65 and Feb. 63)* |
| *h. 22 yrs.:* | *king* | *842W* | *(i.e., betw. c. Nov. 42 and c. Feb. 41)* |

Basic for the reconstruction is the last item (*h*). A matching piece is our conclusion (below, n. 20) that Omri was the commander in chief in Baasha's Moabite campaign of c. 895. To be old enough for such a position, he must have been born in c. 930. This leads to c. 905 as Ahab's birthdate.—Though their friendship may well have antedated Ithobaal's rise to power, a marriage of their children before 880, when Omri was firmly established, is not very likely. But 885, even 889 remain possible dates.

12. Like Hugo Winckler and others, this author used to believe that Benhadad, Baasha's contemporary, was identical with the king of the same name who conducted the wars against Ahab. But Albright's argument in favor of this opinion finally convinced him that this theory was untenable.

13. Thirty-two kings: not necessarily an exaggeration. The Zakir stele counts seventeen, Shalmaneser twelve or thirteen kings in the Syrian coalition. Sargon lists seven kings ruling over a section of little Cyprus. Thus, if we had all the names of Benhadad's allies, vassals and sub-vassals, the total could easily be thirty or more.

14. The Assyrian records are not clear. But 875 B.C. appears to be the best date.

15. Joshaphat had assumed the regency for his sick father in 875S.—*Marriage of Joram and Athalia in 865/4:* see above, n. 11, g.—*New count,* beginning in 869 (possibly 870 = 'Ahab 4/5') is the best interpretation of the synchronisms ##19 and 20, not yet explained satisfactorily in my *Biblical Chronology I.*

16. *Aphek:* location much discussed. Aphek in Jaulan is too far away from Samaria. Furthermore, Benhadad would have had the retreat open. Aphek in Sharon seems to fit best. First battle: "in the hills" of Samaria; second battle: "in the plain," at the entrance of a valley offering easy access to Samaria. A victory there would have been decisive, a defeat disastrous. The Transjordanian Aphek fits well into an offensive war like that of 2 K. 13:17.

17. It is a mere assumption that he suffered smaller losses. But it explains best why he considered himself strong enough to wrest Ramoth from Aram.

18. It is quite possible that Mesha's earliest attempts to reconquer the district of Medeba were undertaken in 856 when Ahab had to face the deadly danger of the Aramean war.

It is worth noting that this year is almost precisely the halfway mark of the reign of Omri's successors, thus complying to the letter with Mesha's own statement.

19. The "two years" of Ahaziah covered only fragments of two regnal years and may have extended over hardly more than six months. His reign began in c. October, 853. It ended between April and September, 852.

20. Mesha's conquests extended, no doubt, into the early reign of Jehu, who in the beginning had to cope with internal problems when stabilizing his throne and then—since c. 836—was exposed to the powerful attacks of Hazael of Damascus. The inscription, therefore, ought to be dated in c. 830, before the advance of Aram checked and finally reversed the northward movement of Moab. OUTLINES OF AN INTERPRETATION OF THE MESHA STELE: The initial remarks are variations on the theme of *de mortibus persecutorum.* King Omri and his son had been oppressors of Moab. But Mesha had the satisfaction of witnessing the catastrophe of Ahab (853) and his house (841). The "everlasting destruction" of Israel may as well refer to these two catastrophes as to Hazael's victories over Jehu.—After these general remarks, Mesha goes into detail, describing how he rebuilt the power of Moab. The bone of contention between Israel and Moab is the district of Medeba. (Cp. the Jephthah story.) Omri *(the title of king is not added this time)* had conquered it forty years before Mesha wrested it again from Israel. The date of Mesha's counterattack is determined by two statements: (1) 2 K. 1:1; 3:5 says that Mesha rebelled after the death of Ahab, i.e., in 853. (2) Mesha reports that the oppression lasted until "the

middle of the days of Omri's sons," which, being only an approximate figure, would fix the date in the neighborhood of 857. The margin is so narrow that we could consider these two dates as virtually identical. It is, of course, possible that Mesha began to stir during the Syrian crisis, in 856 (see above, n. 18), while the full-scale rebellion was started in 853.

Counting backwards the "forty years of oppression"—most likely a round number—we fix its beginning at c. 895, a date belonging to the reign of Baasha. Accordingly, Omri conducted the victorious Moabite campaign long before ascending the throne. (So also Morgenstern, *loc. cit.*) The historical implications are highly interesting. (See above notes 5 and 9.)

Is it then mere coincidence that the Septuagint lists—erroneously—under 'Asa 20', i.e. 895, the accession of Baasha's son? It rather would appear that we are dealing with a fragment of a tradition dating an epochal event of Baasha's reign in 895. The condition of the Greek text justifies the assumption that the editors were in doubt as to the meaning of the date; for in several codices the synchronism is entirely missing.

21. It is quite possible that Israel had withdrawn from the league after Ahab's death. At any rate, she no longer played a major role in it. Shalmaneser does not mention her.

22. "The blood of Jezreel" apparently refers to the murder of the Judean king and his house. For in slaying the King of Israel, Jehu merely executed prophetic orders. (See my *Jeroboam II*, n. 24.)

22a. The treaty of 869 must have regulated the succession; and Ahaziah —being the issue of both royal houses—must have been first in line if Joram of Israel died without issue.

23. My *Chronology* terms the 22+6 an error based on confusion. In the meantime, the historical analysis led to the interpretation suggested in the text. Now I even doubt whether it is mere coincidence that a late report has it that prince Joash of Judah was saved from being murdered *by Jehu*. It appears that its source actually preserved the memory of Athaliah's being his instrument in exterminating the House of David.

24. The reference to the "savior" occurs thrice. The first one, 2 K. 13:4 f., merely anticipates 13:23ff. and 14:26 f. Note particularly 13:22, stating that there was no let-up as long as Joahaz and Hazael were alive, and 13:3, making reference to Benhadad III, who ascended the throne of Damascus after the death of Joahaz of Israel (see my *Biblical Chronology I)*, which is supplemented by 13:24 f. Cp. also 10:32. The problem will be discussed in a special paper.—The impotence of Israel in the early reign of Joash is illustrated best by the story of roving Moabite bands entering the country at the time of the death of Elisha. (13:20 f.).

25. The reinterpretation of Adadnirari's reports and particularly the evaluation of the Zakir inscription were rendered possible by the correct dating of the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel established in my *Biblical Chronology I.* The outlines may be given in the following. A com-

plete discussion of the problem must be reserved to a special essay. (A paper on this subject was prepared for the 1951 meeting of the AOS, but could not be delivered.)

(*a*) Hazael's attacks extend over the entire reign of Joahaz, who died in 803W (2:K. 13:22).

(*b*) Confirming this: Hazael's campaign against Philistia and Jerusalem occurred shortly before the death of Joash of Judah, who died in 801S.

(*c*) Since this was after the first campaigns of Adadnirari, we cannot help concluding that Hazael tried to regain control over his former vassals.

(*d*) Confirmation: Benhadad, his son, upheld the hegemony for some time (13:3 and 14–25).

(*e*) Benhadad III—identification with the Syrian king of the Elisha stories is not new—cannot have ascended the throne before the middle of 801, since his father was still alive in the summer of that year.

(*f*) Not later than 790, Joash takes the offensive against Damascus which, continued by Jeroboam, leads to the eclipse of Damascus (see my *Jeroboam II*).

(*g*) Both Syrian campaigns—that against Samaria and that against Hazrak, Zakir's capital—accordingly must have taken place between 800 and 790. In fact, we have to allow for a few years before 790 in which Israel could make the transition from the defensive to the offensive.

(*h*) They obviously are part of the program of recovering lost ground, initiated by Hazael after Adadnirari's campaign of 802, and they mark the turning point.

(*i*) In 796 Adadnirari appears again in Syria. It was probably on this expedition that he conquered Damascus.

(*j*) If this campaign of 796 broke the backbone of Damascus, then the expeditions against Samaria and Hazrak woud have to be dated between 800 and 796, say in 799 and 797, respectively. The first would be a logical continuation of Hazael's campaign against Philistia and Judah, the second a result of the Hittite rebellion that foiled his efforts in the south. Zakir's situation and the outcome of the struggle would closely resemble that of Ahaz of Judah in 734; for the powerful coalition attacking Hazrak was obviously anti-Assyrian.—It is, of course, not impossible that the two sieges represent a last attempt to regain the hegemony lost in 796 in which Benhadad exhausted his resources. Then the rise of Zakir would have saved Samaria, while the Israelite offensive, which since 791 scored major victories, would have brought relief to besieged Hazrak.

If my reconstruction of the map of The Empire of Hazael is right, then all *seven kings* of the coalition not listed individually are automatically accounted for. ##1–7: listed, 8–10: lost, 11: Ammon, 12: Moab, 13: Edom, 14: Judah, 15–17: one to three Philistian kings, and/or (possibly) a Phoenician state. Those listed (1–10) would have been the allies, the rest (11–17) the vassals.

26. Variant of the Greek version of 2 K. 13:23(24): Hazael extended his Philistine conquests to Aphek.—*Hazael about 70 years old:* When he usurped the crown, in c. 843, he must have been close to, if not over, thirty.

27. See above n. 25 (j), on the date of the attack on Zakir.

28. Marriage of Joash: See my forthcoming *Three Early Marriages in the House of David.*

29. Year of confusion: 'Amaziah 16 = Jeroboam 1' (synchronism #38*a*), as it seems, ought to be taken seriously and interpreted as referring to 786S as the beginning of Jeroboam's rule over Judah. This, incidentally, would improve my interpretation of the "65 years oracle" (see my *Jeroboam II,* p. 22 ff.), which now would lead exactly to the fall of Samaria. Likewise, it would better satisfy the 'Jerob. 27' synchronism. (Cp. my *Jeroboam II,* n. 28, par. 1.)—Of the two alternative reconstructions of the course of events suggested in my *Jeroboam II,* p. 15 f., I have chosen the one which appears to have the greater likelihood.

30. *Judah in Israel:* See my *Jeroboam II,* p. 10—An interesting parallel: Abibaal of Byblos in his inscription on the statue of Sheshonk calls himself "King of Byblos *in* Egypt."

31. See my *Jeroboam II,* p. 22 ff. on Is. 7:8.

32. "Entrance of Hamath," see my *Jeroboam II,* p. 33—The equation with "border of . . ." is fully confirmed by the terminology used in Xenophon's *Cyrop.* viii 6:20.

33. It has previously not been noticed that these two names, Lodebar and Qarnaim, are referring to provinces or districts. However, that is clearly indicated by the name of the Assyrian province of Qarnini. It seems that Qarnaim was the name Hazael gave to Bashan when he conquered it, and the same might apply to Lodebar, northern Gilead, extending from the Yarmuk to an unknown line, which, if it was not the Jabbok, might be suggested by the southern border of the Persian province of Gilead (see *Westminster Atlas,* Plate VII D).

Since the boastful remark in Amos 6:13 seems to imply a recent conquest of Lodebar and Qarnaim, we may conclude that these districts had fallen into the hands of Rezin soon after he had re-established the independence of Damascus. Then, however, Jeroboam would have recovered the territory lost so that the advance of Aram appeared to be checked. The result was to lull the leaders of Israel into the feeling of security.

33*a*. One feels greatly tempted to assign Za. 9:1–8 to the age of Jeroboam and to credit *Zachariah,* the religious advisor of Uzziah (2 Ch. 26:5), with the authorship. "YHWH in the land of Hadrach and in Damascus" recalls 2 K. 14:28, the conquests of Jeroboam (Hadrach, as we know from the Zakir stele, being one of the main cities of the kingdom of Hamath); and the threat of complete subjugation of Philistia might refer to the successes of Uzziah, Jeroboam's deputy. That so powerful an empire, reaching from Hatarika (Hadrach, Hazrak) in the north to the Red Sea, would be

aiming at the conquest of Phoenicia (vv. 2–3), or that Phoenicia could be considered a potential victim of its expansionist tendencies, is nothing to be surprised at.

34. We offer a suggestion as to the explanation of the much discussed irregularity in the official count of Tiglathpileser's regnal years which lists 745, the year when he ascended the throne, as 'year 1', while the rules of "postdating" called for terming it "accession year," i.e., 'year 0'. If the revolution of 746, mentioned in our records, referred to the rise of Tiglathpileser, then we might well assume that the usurper considered 746 as the "accession year," though it took a few more months to conquer the last foothold of his predecessor.

Contrary to the widespread (though not universally accepted) opinion, Tiglathpileser was not "a son of a nobody." Like his three predecessors, he was a son of Adadnirari III. Nevertheless, we must call him *a usurper*. It appears that he seized power when his weak brother had led Assyria to the brink of disaster. For the exceptional dating of his "first official year" indicates that he claimed the crown before his brother's death. (The only alternative would be a parallel to the Bardiya story and its chronological implications as related by Herodotus.)

35. A paper on *Tiglathpileser's Syrian Campaigns, The Tribute of Menahem, and the Rise of Hoshea* was submitted by the author at the 1949 meeting of the AOS at New Haven (unpublished). It established the new chronology of the events. Scholars familiar with the problems involved need only compare the Assyrian records to see how I interpreted them. (The key was furnished by the seemingly contradictory statements concerning Arpad.) The result is a much more logical arrangement of the campaigns

Battle of Halpi: Exact location unknown. The records state "between the land Kishtan and the land Halpi, *districts of Comagene.*" (Forrer's locating Halpi on the eastern bank of the Euphrates is hardly compatible with this description.) Most likely it was near the highway to Melitene (which kept its independence), the logical road of retreat for Sardurri and his allies.

It seems that *Yaudi-Samal* and *Hamath* (on the flanks of Arpad) were allied with Tiglathpileser. This would explain why they were not compelled to pay tribute after the victory. This too would suggest that *Tiglathpileser's first move* was jointly with these two allies to close in on Arpad which Mati-ilu had left only lightly protected when he took his army northward to join Sardurri's forces in Comagene.

36. *The Tribute of Menahem* had to be assigned to the year 740 in consequence of the re-interpretation of the Assyrian records. This has interesting implications, which, at the same time, serve as a *countercheck* of our theories.

A tribute of one thousand talents, raised by a head tax of 50 shekels, would mean that there were 60,000 landowners, an enormous population, too large for the small "Kingdom of Samaria," virtually limited to the capital

and its surroundings. If, however, Menahem, who died in 738, began payment of the tribute in 740, *spreading it over three years,* then the number of landowners would have been only 20,000. This finds a surprising confirmation in Sargon's records from the year 722/1. He lists 27,300 people deported after the fall of Samaria. Included in this number are, of course, other members of the upper classes, such as courtiers, officers, craftsmen and businessmen— at the most one third of the total. Thus the figures are virtually identical. This is additional evidence proving that Menahem's kingdom had approximately the same size as that of Hoshea. (See my paper, quoted in n. 35, above.)

37. It has escaped notice that Hosea 5:1 describes the extent of Menahem's kingdom.

38. Hosea and the idea of reunion of Israel and Judah: See my *Jeroboam II,* n. 24.

39. The subjugation of Ammon (which paid tribute for three years) may have taken place as early as 749 or 748. The latest possible date is 747; for Rezin and Pekah began their offensive in the lifetime of Jotham (2 K. 15:37), who died in 743.—As to southern Gilead, see my *Jeroboam II,* p. 10.

40. It is fully consistant with the historical situation that the Biblical report clearly states: "and the Edomites came to Elath and dwelt there until this day"—which, of course, happened only a few years later, viz., after Tiglathpileser's campaigns of 734–732 had crushed Rezin and his empire. The Syrian conquest of Elath is to be dated early in the reign of Ahaz, between 743 and 736, probably after Tiglathpileser had turned his back to the West in 738.

41. In contradistinction to what is said about the occupation of Elath, the Bible characterizes the Philistine conquest as short-lived by leaving out the formula "until this day."

42. The description given in Is. 1:7–9 fits so perfectly the circumstances that there is no reason to accept the view of those who assign these statements contained in his early messages to the end of the prophet's career, viz., the time of Sennacherib's campaign in 701. (Will be discussed in a separate study.)

43. To "rejoice" in Rezin means: to decide in favor of accepting his alliance, be pleased with it, approve of it. This I have demonstrated in a paper read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in Washington in 1947 on *Hezekiah and Merodach-Baladan,* whose publication is forthcoming.

44. On the table attached to my *Jeroboam II* Ahaz's accession as vassal of Assyria ought to be moved up by half a year to 734W.

45. Begrich's reconstruction of the campaigns of 734–32, published in *ZDMG* 1929 but unknown to me when I analyzed the records, largely agrees with mine.

46. When writing my *Jeroboam II,* I failed to make the *important observation* that synchronisms ##56 and 56*a,* dating Hoshea's accession in 'Ahaz 10/11', ought to be interpreted as referring to his rise as opponent to Pekah. Which system is represented by these two variants cannot be decided without special investigation. If both employ the official postdating, then the date would be fixed in 733W, i.e., between Fall, 733, and Spring, 732. If both or one of them uses the old-fashioned antedating, then the date would be 733S or even 734W. The historical situation seems to point to the neighborhood of the Fall-New Year's Day of 733. (Discussed in the paper quoted above, n. 35.)

47. If Is. 15 f. is authentic, then Moab must have been in the possession of the contested territory between the Arnon and the northern tip of the Dead Sea. It would have received these districts after being freed from the overlordship of Damascus.

48. *Elath:* Rezin had conquered it in c. 738 (see above, n. 40). Text quite clear. Needs no emendation.

49. A study on *The Rod That Smote Philistia* is virtually ready for publication. In fact, certain sections of it have been incorporated into this history.

50. The vassal conference and the payment of the tribute seem to have started before the fall of Damascus. For Panammu is listed among those paying tribute. But he died before the conquest of the city. (733 may be the date.)

51. Rebellion of Israel and Tyre in 726: See my *Jeroboam II,* n. 40.

52. Que province in 724 and Phrygian invasion under Shalmaneser: see Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung,* p. 70.

53. It is not impossible that the siege did not last for more than two years. It began after the fall of 724, possibly in Tebet (like that of Jerusalem), and ended in or shortly after Tebet, 722/1. The Bible, of course, counting only official regnal years or fractions thereof, correctly arrives at a total of three.

Sargon a son of Tiglathpileser: Evidence published by Edgar Unger in *Publications des Musées d' Antiquités de Stamboul, IX;* cp. Poebel in *JNES* II, p. 88 and n. 26. The long accepted theory that he was "a son of a nobody" ought to have been disproved by Esarhaddon's assertion that he was a descendent of Adasi. Only the question remained to be settled how closely he was related to Tiglathpileser. In no way does he seem to have been a usurper. On the contrary, as it appears, the responsibility was thrown into his lap in a situation closely resembling that of 705. There is good reason to assume that Shalmaneser died on an expedition in the north. Tentatively we may connect this catastrophe with Mita's conquest of sections of Que and the rebellion of Yaudi-Samal. Hilakku too was active. (Cimmerian pressure likewise ought to be considered.) The entire region seems to have been aflame. The names of some of these countries in all likelihood

originally appeared in the now damaged entries for 724 and 723, while the entry for 722 does not exclude a major expedition for that year (cp. 714). It is quite clear that Shalmaneser after investing Tyre and Samaria in 724 had to turn to the north with whatever forces he could spare. The fact that Sargon claims the credit for pacifying that region is evidence of Shalmaneser's being unsuccessful; and this might involve a catastrophe.

54. The seemingly contradictory statements concerning the *date of the Battle of Dēr* can easily be explained. One record lists it in the year when the king set out for the expedition, i.e., in 'Sargon 1', the other, however, when it actually took place, i.e., after the New Year's Day of 'Sargon 2'. The resulting construction that the campaign began in Adar approximately finds support in the fact that Sennacherib's Babylonian expedition started on Shebat 20th (Luckenbill #258). The dating of the battle in Nisan, on the other hand, is supported by the course of events. Sargon was able to crush the western wing of his opponents, down to the Egyptian border, before the winter rains stopped large-scale operations. Such an expedition would have required at least seven months.

That an event in Nisan may be listed under the preceding year—particularly when it is the climax of an undertaking started in that year—is evidenced by the report of the Annals on the Babylonian campaign. "Sargon takes the hands of Bel" is recorded at the conclusion of his 12th year 710/09), though it occurred in the beginning of the 13th. The Babylonian Chronicle and the Eponym Canon, of course, correctly list it in 'year 13' = 709/8.

55. We wonder whether it actually was inefficiency that caused the delay. Merodach-Baladan might have been late because he did not wish Elam to gain a decisive victory, which would have made it too strong.

56. See my forthcoming *Hezekiah and Merodach-Baladan*. It demonstrates that the Biblical report is based on *documentary sources*. My interpretation of the Assyrian records is obvious.

57. Whether the phrase used actually indicates that it was only his bodyguard, i.e., a small detachment of elite troops, can be doubted.—It is a plausible suggestion of some commentators (e.g. *Cambr. A.H.* III) that Is. 22: 1 ff. describes one scene of the drama.—The fact that Hezekiah's successor, Manasseh, was born in 710 might indicate that in 711 Hezekiah had to hand over his children to Sargon.—A paper on *The Ashdod Rebellion against Sargon II—Its Place in the Development of the Assyrian Empire* was read by the author at the 1954 meeting of the AOS.

58. This consciously and advisedly putting in parallel of *Hezekiah and Solomon* is also reflected in Prov. 25:1, which credits Hezekiah with the collection of Solomon's proverbs.

58*a*. The dirge in Is. 14 may well be considered a counterpart to the invective in Is. 10. One reason why I am disinclined to find it aimed at Nebuchadnezzar is that the conqueror's fall must have been sudden, thun-

derous, and spectacular. This does not seem to fit Nebuchadnezzar who apparently died of old age.

As to the *catastrophe of Midas,* there are good reasons to revise the traditional chronology followed in the text. It appears that as early as 708 Gyges of Lydia began to claim the legacy of the Phrygian Empire. It is also about that time that Mita of Muski disappears from the Assyrian records. Thus the fall of Midas may have preceded that of Sargon by a few years. In fact, Sargon's last successes against Mita may, at least in part, be explained by increased Cimmerian pressure on Muski. (See my *Herodotus,* etc.)

59. *The conquest of Cyprus by Elulaeus.* Even if Menander had not mentioned the conquest, circumstantial evidence would have led to assume it. For during the later reign of Sargon (between 710 and 707) Cyprus submitted to him. In 701, however, Elulaeus finds refuge there. Consequently he must have regained control of the island after the catastrophe of Sargon. This agreement of Menander and the Assyrian records, incidentally, furnishes additional proof of the correctness of his report. Similarly, the Greco-Phoenician and Assyrian accounts agree as to another point. Sargon's statements seem to indicate that the kings of Cyprus submitted to him voluntarily. The same is to be inferred from Menander. He speaks of a defection of Cyprus from Tyre.

60. He set out on Shebat 20th, i.e., between January 25 and February 24, 702.

61. In fact, Sennacherib makes no reference to it. Apparently no serious attempts were made to organize a siege—or, if made, they were entirely unsuccessful.

62. The difference between Bible and Assyrian records concerning the tribute is probably to be explained as follows: Like in the case of Menahem (above, n. 36), the tribute was spread over several years. In this instance the Bible would give only the first installment, Sennacherib, however, the full amount.

63. For the Median chronology see my forthcoming *Herodotus and Our Knowledge of the Ancient Near East.* The rise of Deioces is to be dated in the year beginning in the fall of 701.

64. Authenticity of Biblical report: An analysis of the documents will be given separately. The thinking reader, however, will find all the clues in the text of the present book.

65. It is not a personal appearance of Isaiah. He sends a message.

66. Amon's marriage: See my *Three Early Marriages . . .* (forthcoming).

67. Josiah's accession: *Ibid.* The gist of my argumentation (against Albright) is: (*a*) "Josiah '8 years' when ascending the throne" is to be taken as *almost nine;* (*b*) that must have been in the very beginning of his accession year, i.e., in the fall of 641; (*c*) Jehoiakim may have just completed his 25th year when ascending the throne in August 609. Accordingly, Josiah 15¾ years at the birth of Jehoiakim. The same method gives Amon

up to 16 years at the time of Josiah's birth. The resulting chronology is:

| | AMON | | JOSIAH | | JEKOIAKIM |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Birth | Nov. 666 *—16* | = | Nov. 650 *—15½* | = | Aug. 634 |
| Accession | Oct. 643 *(at 22)* | | Oct. 641 *(at 8)* | | Aug. 609 *(at 25)* |

68. Phraortes' attack belongs in the fall-year 626/5. November/December, 626 would fit well. The "forays" recorded for the accession year of Nabopolassar (which began on November 23) then might refer to it.

68*a*. The date of Jeremiah's beginning, established as fall-year 628/7, may be more precisely fixed in the spring of 627. For the reference to a blossoming almond tree seems to point to that season.

69. As to the *Medes and Scythians,* see my forthcoming *Herodotus and Our Knowledge of the Ancient Near East,* ch. II. (The main section of that chapter was read at the meeting of the AOS in New York, in 1948.)

70. One is very much tempted to assign Jer. 47:1 ff. to this situation, dating it accordingly between 617 and 611. However, only if the seeming reference to chariots in the problematic passage in v. 4 could be re-interpreted or eliminated, the enemy from the north could be identified with the Scythians.

71. For *Megiddo and Carchemish* in particular, and the history of the entire period to the fall of Jerusalem in general, see my *Biblical Chronology I* and below, the *Supplementary Note.*

72. *The Date of Jeremiah 28:* see *op. cit.,* p. 32.

73. See my *Herodotus, etc.* One of the *cruces interpretum* which generations of scholars have been unable to solve is the seeming difference of the data given by Herodotus, amounting to exactly *six years.* They are plainly accounted for by the *six war years. De facto,* the Scythian dominion ended with the murder of their leaders; *de iure,* however, it was terminated by the peace treaty, *six years later.* Accordingly, Herodotus could credit the Scythians with either twenty-eight or twenty-two years.

74. For the "Thirteen years' siege of Tyre," see my *Biblical Chronology I* and my *Nebuchadnezzar's Reconquest of Phoenicia and Palestine and the Oracles of Ezekiel (HUC Annual* XXIII, 2, 1950/51). As to Ezek. 26:1–6, the precise date cannot be established. The incomplete date line gives "year XI, first day of the month." Originally it might have read XI/11/1 (haplography!?). This would have been February 13, 586. But I am much inclined to believe in an original reading of XII/11/1, which would have been February 3, 585.

75. For the following see my *Nebuch. . . . and . . . Ezekiel.* In that study I failed to mention a campaign of Nabonidus against Edom.

76. *Fall of Sardis in 549.* This new date has been established in my *Herodotus, etc.* The relevant section was read at the Ann Arbor meeting of the AOS (Middle West) in 1947.

77. Publication of a study on *Simon the Just, The Keneseth Ha-gedolah, and the Origins of the Sopherim and the Sadducees* is forthcoming.

# SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

THE NEW BABYLONIAN RECORDS ON NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S CONQUEST OF PALESTINE, published in J. D. Wiseman: *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings,* London, 1956, reached me in July, 1956, while the publisher was preparing the manuscript of this book for the printer.

Practically nothing in the text had to be changed on account of the recent discoveries. A few welcome details have been inserted [in brackets] in the comments to the relevant maps.

## I. *Full Confirmation of my "Biblical Chronology"*

JEHOIACHIN'S SURRENDER on Adar 2, 598/7. My reconstruction, first submitted at the 1940 AOS meeting in New York in a paper which became the core of my *Biblical Chronology I* (1944), established:

1. The three months of Jehoiachin were Tebet, Shebat, Adar, 598/7;
2. Jehoiachin was deposed on Nisan 10, 597/6.

In interlocking chains of arguments (from which no link can be detached) stretching from at least the reign of Hezekiah to 561/0, I demonstrated:

*a*) on pp. 4–7, that first Hezekiah and (after Manasseh's counterreform) again Josiah had shifted the Judean New Year's Day to the spring;

*b*) on pp. 8–10, that Jehoiachin's three months (2 K. 24:8) belong to the year 598/7
(which would mean only an accession year);

*c*) but that they must be the closing months of the year on account of the seeming contradiction with

*d*) Exile 37 = Evil-Merodach 1 = 561/0
yielding " 1 = Nebuchadnezzar 8 = 597/6
(meaning one official year).

*e*) *Solution* (pp. 8–9):
(1) We must postulate that "Jehoiachin's short reign extended—perhaps only for a very few days—into the new year";
(2) Ch. 36:9 actually lists these very few days, viz., *ten.*

*f*) *Confirmation:*
(1) 2 Ch. 36:10 adds: "about the turn of the year" (which Appendix E defines as 360°);
(2) pp. 9 and 10, 2 K. 24:12 actually has "Jehoiachin exiled in 'Nebuchadnezzar 8'" as postulated in #d.

We may now add: *obviously a few weeks elapsed between the surrender on Adar 2 and the official end of the reign and the start of the deportation on Nisan 10.* The year 586 offers an analogy. There too we find such an interval between the conquest and the beginning of the deportation.

In fact, we now see that Josephus actually had this information. He

implies that after the surrender *Nebuchadnezzar left Jehoiachin on the throne for a short while,* "not even a year." Then the Babylonian changed his mind, deposed him and ordered the deportation. Josephus and Chronicles also agree as to the fact that Nebuchadnezzar sent these orders to his servants, the generals. This means that by that time he had already departed from Jerusalem, which again implies an interval.

As to THE BEGINNING OF JEHOIACHIN'S REIGN (and the death of Jehoiakim), which we dated in Tebet, Wiseman—being not sufficiently familiar with the chronological terminology and the data available—counts the three months and ten days *from the day of surrender* to Marheshvan 22. He overlooked two facts:

1. Surrender is not necessarily identical with the end of the reign (see above);
2. We have to count *three official months* (the first of which may be incomplete) plus ten days of the fourth official month, Nisan.

ATTEMPT AT REBELLION IN 601 AND REVOLT IN 598 (p. 15 f.). Fragments fitted into the basic framework reconstructed indicated that in 601 a show of force nipped a rebellion in the bud and caused Jehoiakim to pay tribute in 601, 600, and 599, which, however, he stopped paying in 598.

The new texts support this view. They actually record an expedition to Hatti (Syria-Palestine) in 601 and add the interesting feature that in Kislev Nebuchadnezzar marched against Egypt. Though not victorious in battle, he obviously succeeded in blunting the Pharaoh's sword, thus preventing Egypt from active interference in Palestine in support of the planned rebellion.

Nebuchadnezzar began his campaign against Judah in Kislev 598/7, so the new chronicle states. This tallies with our construction that earlier that year Jehoiakim had refused to pay the tribute due.

## II. *Problems*

A. THE END OF JEHOIAKIM IN TEBET 598/7—Nebuchadnezzar with his army left Babylonia in Kislev. Wiseman (p. 33) allows a minimum of one month to elapse before the start of the siege. This would lead to Tebet (say the 15th or even the 20th), precisely the time we established for the fall of Jehoiakim.

Accordingly, his death coincided with the arrival of the Babylonians, and Josephus appears to be vindicated up to this point. However, it is hard to believe—though not impossible—that the Babylonian record would have failed to mention Nebuchadnezzar's entry into the city. And it seems that the Biblical sources had no knowledge of it either.

In fact, *Kings indicates that Nebuchadnezzar reached Jerusalem much later,* after the siege had lasted for some time, only to accept Jehoiachin's surrender.

If we then disregard what appears as a slight distortion in the picture drawn by Josephus, the course of events may be reconstructed in the following way:

> The advance units of the Babylonian army reach Jerusalem in Tebet—Jehoiakim suddenly dies (possibly slain in a revolution)—Jehoiachin king—3023 Judeans deported—*This practically ends the rebellion* (and Jehoiachin, if we compare his fate with Zedekiah's, actually is not treated as a rebel). A kind of armistice is arranged.
>
> But Nebuchadnezzar, still en route, possibly in Riblah, soon has reason to disapprove of the arrangement. He orders the siege to be resumed and finally joins his army to accept Jehoiachin's surrender on Adar 2.

B. THE SIEGE OF TYRE 598–586—The coalition of Judah with Tyre, Sidon, Edom, Moab, and Ammon is too well documented, and the reconstruction of Tyrian chronology in my *Biblical Chronology I* (reinforced in my *Nebuchadnezzar's Reconquest, etc.*) is too stable to be affected by the silence of the new records which mention only the main objective of the expedition. Tyre was merely invested (as far as possible). This was not worth reporting in a short chronicle. (Sennacherib does not record either whatever attempts he made at investing Tyre in 701.)

C. CARCHEMISH—In my *Biblical Chronology I* (pp. 10 ff. and 29 f.) I tried to suspend this separate problem in the solid chronological framework already completed. A date line in a document which now appears to be discredited had led Julius Lewy to conclude that in 605/4 there was no room for the battle. I accepted that. But I emphasized: ". . . this battle is so indispensable that we would have to 'invent' it if it were not mentioned in that so-called gloss." Accordingly I assigned it to 606/5.

In that year, so I pointed out, belongs the Fall of Haran (n. 96 and additional evidence, not yet published)—which the new chronicle does not mention because it was the Scythians that conquered it while the Babylonians blocked off the forces of Egypt and other allies—and in Daniel, rabbinic tradition, and elsewhere a chronological system can be distinguished that seems to date the beginning of the Babylonian rule in 606.

However, now we learn that Nabopolassar died on Ab 8, 605/4. This leaves sufficient room for placing Carchemish in that year. And in fact, *the new chronicle seems unmistakably to date the battle in 'Nabopolassar 21' (605/4).*

How can we reconcile this with the tradition that the Babylonian rule over Judah commenced in 606/5?

Pending further investigation, I list the following three alternatives.

1. We have a case analogous to the dating of the Battle of Dēr (see above, n. 54). The battle (in this case being fought toward the end of the

old year) was simply recorded under the year of the expedition, of which it was not only an integral part but the high point.

If we then date it on, or shortly before the first of Adar II, 606/5 (March 13, 605), there would have been enough time left for swift advance units of the Babylonian army to enforce Jehoiakim's submission before April 11, the end of the year. (The main forces seem to have by-passed the hill country of Judah.)

2. Babylonian raiding parties succeeded in reaching Judah by detour before the Battle of Carchemish.

This, while not impossible, is not very likely, though Biblical references to Babylonian raids could be adduced in support of this assumption. We could even point to the occupation of Quramati and the bridgeheads on the other bank of the Euphrates as possibly connected with such an undertaking.

3. The chronological system of Daniel 1 reckons in fall-years.

Resulting chronology: Jehoiakim's accession in Tishri, 609—short interregnum—Riblah in Elul (on Necho's return *after* the conquest of Haran)—Megiddo in the very beginning of Tammuz.

> This construction would have one advantage. It would enable us to give Josiah fully sixteen years at the birth of Jehoiakim. (See above, n. 67.)

At present I am inclined to prefer #1. Accordingly, text, Chronological Survey, and the comments to the maps list Carchemish under "March ?," 605.

### III. *Ashurbanipal and His Successors*

In April, 1956, at the Baltimore meeting of the AOS, Professor Albright opposed my reconstruction of the Lydian chronology (which is used in the text of this book and in the Chronological Survey) as incompatible with the date of Ashurbanipal's death, which he claimed to be 633. I rejected this *argumentum e silentio* and referred also to Poebel's note on the subject. I emphasized that my system called for merely one additional year, and that I had other reasons to credit the king with as much as three more years. I would, therefore, be inclined to date the Shamash-dananni texts (e.g., the Rassam Cylinder) in 632 or 631, even in 630.

My contention has now fully been proven. Wiseman (p. 92) lists two new records with the date lines 10 x. 37 and 20 iii. 38 (June 5, 631).

I may add that several interlocking studies (not yet finished) have led me years ago to interpret the evidence available as indicated in the Chronological Survey, viz.,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ashurbanipal | death | 630/29 |
| Ashuretelilani | " | 626S |
| Sinshumulishir | " | 626 Fall |
| Nabopolassar | accession | 626/5 in, or after Marheshvan. |

The new chronicle actually gives Marshevan 26.

# Index

## I

("S" = Supplementary Note)


Abibaal (Byblos), n.30
Abijah, 6, 7, n.7, 9
Adadnirari III, 21–24, 36; records examined, n.25
Adasi, n.53
Ahab, 8, 9–14, 21, n.20; marriage, n.11
Ahaz, 39, 44, 46, 48–58, 61, n.40, 44; Assyrian vassal, 51
Ahaziah (Isr.), 15, n.19; (Judah), 16f., 18, n.11, 22*a*
Ahimiti (Ashdod), 69
Aleppo, 13, 37
Alyattes, 99
Amasis, 106
Amaziah, 23, 25–27, 29, 46, 56
Ammon, 4, 5, 10, 12, 24, 31, 33, 39, 47, 51, 53, 55f., 75, 97f., 103, 104ff., n.5, 9, 25, 39, 47; freed by Omri, n.5
Amon, 84, 87, n.66; birth, n.67
Amos, 18, 28, 29
Amq, 24
Aphek, 12, n.16, 26
Apries, see Hophra
Arabah, 4, 26, 29, 51
Arabs, 13, 39, 51, 55f.
Arnon, 5, 10, 20f., n.47
Arpad, 13, 24, 37–40, 63f., n.35
Artaxerxes I, 110
Arvad, 13, 38
Asa, 7, 8, n.7, 9
Ashdod, 29, 65ff., 69–72, 75, 88, 93
Ashkelon, 39, 55f., 58, 75ff., 93, 95
Ashur (city), fall, 92
Ashurbanipal, 84, 86ff., 90, S
Ashurdan III, 36
Ashurnasirpal II, 9, 10, n.14
Ashur-nadin-shumu, 77
Ashurnirari V, 37
Ashuruballit, 93ff.
Assyria, decline, 2, 36; final decl., 81f., 88–97; recovery, 37ff., n.4
Astyages, 99
Athaliah, 11, 19f,, 25, n.11
Attica, 110
Azariah, see Uzziah
Azriau of Yaudi, 38–40, 47
Azuri (Ashdod), 69

Baal (Tyre), I, 86; II, 105
Baasha, 7f., 10, n.5, 7*a*, 9, 11, 12, 20; pretender in Nadab's reign, n.7*a*
Babylon(ia), 54, 62–72, 77, 79, 83, 85f., 88, 92–107
Babylonian Exile, 66, 98, 101, 104ff.
Bashan, n.33
Belibni, 77
Benhadad, I, 7, 8, 10, n.10; II, 9–14, 16, n.12, 13; III, 18, 21, 22–24, 26, n.24, 25
Bethel, 5, 29, 90f., n.7
Bethshemesh, 23, 26, 33
Bīt Adini, 13
Bīt Humri, 8, 31
Byblos, 39; *B. in Egypt*, n. 30

Calendar reform, 5, 73, 85
Carchemish, 13, 38, 39, 84, 94f., 96, 97, S
Cilicia, see Que
Cimmerians, 74, 81, n.53, 58*a*
Comagene, 13, 37, 38f., n.35
Coregents, 6, 21, 23, 30, 33, 48, n.15
Cyprus, 75, 78, 105, n.13; conqu. by Elulaeus, n.59
Cyrus, 107, 109

Damascus, see Rezon, Tabrimmon, Benhadad, Hazael, Jeroboam II, Rezin; province, 52, 55, 63ff.
Dan (sanctuary), n,7
Darius I, 109f.
David, 3f., 5, 10, 35, n.3, 4
Dĕr (battle), 63f., n.54, 55
Dor, 53, 54f., 65

Edom, 4, 10, 11, 15, 21, 24, 26, 29, 33, 39, 47, 48, 51, 53, 55f., 65ff., 69ff., 75, 97f., 104ff., n.25, 40, 75
Egypt, 3, 4, 5, 6, 48, 50, 51ff., 58, 60f., 63, 64, 68ff., 74ff., 83, 84ff., 93–98, 100ff., 104ff.; Assyrian invasions, 86f.
Ekron, 75ff.
Elam, 63f., 67, 75, 85, 103, n.55
Elah, 8, n.9
Elath, 29, 33, 48, 50, 51, 55f., n.40, 41, 47
Elteke(h), 77, 78
Elisha, 17, 22, 23, n.24
Elulaeus, ag. Shalmaneser, 59–65; ag. Sennacherib, 75–78; conqu. Cyprus, n.59
Eni-ilu, 39, 40; ousted, 63
Eras (etc.), Josaphat, 11, n.15; Ahaz, 50f., n.44; Hezekiah, 73; Josiah, 91; Jehoiakim, 97, S(C); Tyre, 101
Esarhaddon, 86, n.53
Evil-Merodach, 107
Evocatio, 57
Ezekiel, 105f.
Ezra, 110

Galilee, 33, 53, 90
Gath, 22, 29, 68, 72
Gaza, 39, 52f., 55f., 63ff.
Gedaliah, 104
Gilead, 10, 20, 30, 33, 47, 52, 53, 54f., n.5, 39
Gurgum, 13, 24, 33, 38f., 66ff., 69ff.
Gyges, n. 58*a*

Hadad (Edom), 4
Hadadezer (Zobah), 4
Halpi (battle), 37, 38; location, n.35
Hamath, 9, 12, 18, 22, 24, 27–29, 33, 37, 39, 40f., 63ff., 66, n.33*a*, 35; "entrance of," n.32
Hanno, see Gaza
Haran, 93ff., 107
Hatarika (Hadrach, Hazrak), 22ff., 27, 33, 37, 39, 40, n.25, 33
Hattina, 13
Haurina, 33, 39, 55
Hazael, 3, 10, 16–25, n.20, 24, 25, 26, 33; his empire, 24, n.25
Hezekiah, 45, 59, 66–82, 85, 90, n.57, 58; turns anti-Assyrian, 45, 66ff., 69–72; tribute, n.62
Hilakku, 13, 60, n.53
Hiram (Tyre), 37ff., 41
Hittites (Hatti), 22f., S
Hophra (Apries), 101, 105f.
Hosea, 30, 46, n.38
Hoshea, 39, 44, 53ff., 59ff., n.35; rise, 54, n.46; two revolts, 59ff., n.51
Humbanigash, 67

Iamani (Ashdod), 69f.
Iaubidi (Hamath), 63ff.
Ilubidi, see Iaubidi
Ionia, 110
Irhuleni (Hamath), 12, 16
Isaiah, 22, 32, 45, 48f., 59, 66ff., 74, 80, 82, n.65
Ithobaal, of Sidon, 78; of Tyre, I, 8, 9, n.11; II, 101, 105

Jabbok, 5, 10, n.5
Jabneh, 29
Jehoahaz (Shallum), 95, 96
Jehoiachin, 98f., 103, 107; surrender, S
Jehoiakim, 84, 89, 95ff., 103; birth, n.67, death, 98, 103, S; revolts of, 601 and 598, S
Jehu, 17–21, n.20; reigned 22 years, 20, n.23
Jephtha, n.5, 20
Jeremiah, 84f., 89, 104; beginning, n.68*a*
Jeroboam, I, 5, 6, 10, 90, 91, n.7; II, 3, 18, 21, 23ff., 26–33, 34, 35, 45, 47, n.25, 33, 33*a*; "the savior," n.24

Jezebel, 8, 17, n.11
Jezreel, 17, 30, 46; "blood of," n.22
Joahaz (Jehoahaz, Isr.), 21, n.24, 25
Joash (Judah), 21, 22, 25f., n.25; (Isr.), 18, 23, 26, n.24
Jonadab b. Rechab, 19
Joram (Tibni's brother), 8, n.11; (Judah), 11, 15f., n.11; (Isr.), 15ff., n.22*a*
Joshua, 73
Josiah, 72, 81, 83, 87–94; birth, accession, n.67
Josaphat, 10f., 14f., n.15
Jotham, 30f., 33, 35, 46f., 51, 53
"Judah in Israel," 27, 33, n.30
Juno Regina, 57

Karkar, 10, 12ff., 16, 21, 24, 64f
Kaska, 39
Keneset ha-gedolah, 111
Kilammu (inscr.), n.10
Kish (battle), 75, 77
Kullani, 33, 39, 41
Kyaxares, 89, 92ff., 99

Lachish, 27, 79
Lodebar, 28, 33, n.33
Lydia, 83, 88, 99, 100, 106f., n.58*a*

Maccabees, 111
Manasseh, 84, 85ff., n.57
Mansuate, 33, 39
Medeba, n.20, 47
Media, 20, 35, 49, 79, 81, 83, 84f., 88f., 92ff., 99, 105, n.63
Medo-Lydian War, 92, 99, 101, 103
Megiddo, 54f., 65; battle, 84, 95f., S
Melitene, 13, 24, 37, 38ff.
Memphis, taken, 86
Menahem "of Samaria," 31, 33, 35, 41, 46, 49, 53; tribute, 39, 41, 53, n.36
Menander, n.59
Merodach-Baladan, conn. w. Hamath revolt, 62–64; w. Ashdod r. (Hezekiah), 65–67, 68, 69, 71; ag. Sennacherib, 74ff., 85f.; Battle of Dēr, n.55
Mesha, 10, 14f., 21, n.18, 21; stele, n.20
Metenna (Tyre), 57, 59
Mita (Midas), 60f., 62ff., 67, 71, 74, n.52, 53; catastrophe, n.58*a*
Mitinti, of Ashdod, 75; of Ashkelon, 39, 58
Moab, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 20f., 24, 31, 33, 39, 47, 51, 53, 55f., 65ff., 69, 75, 97f., 103, 104ff., n.5, 20, 25
Muski (Phrygia), see Mita
Musri, 13
Mutallu (Gurgum), 69ff.

Nabonidus, 107, n.75
Nabopolassar, 88, 92ff., n.68, S
Nadab, 6, n.7*a*
Nebuchadnezzar, 84, 94–106, n.58*a*, 74, S; first siege of Tyre, 98ff., second siege, 105; invasion of Egypt, in 601, 97, 103; in 568, 106
Necho, 84, 93–98
Nehemiah, 110f.
New Year's Day, shifted, 5, 73, 85
Nineveh, 84, 92

Omri, as general campaigns ag. Moab, 7, n.5, 9, 11, 20; king, 8, 10, n.11, 18, 20
Ophir, 15
Oracle: The 65 yrs., n.29
Orontes, 4, 9, 12, 96

Padi (Ekron), 75, 78
Panammu, 39, 40, 42, n.50
Pekah, 30f., 33, 38, 42, 44, 46, 47–54, 55, n.39 40; pretender in Gilead, 30, 33, 44, 47, 53
Pekahiah, 49
Penuel, 5, 10, n.5
Persian Wars, 110
Philistines (Philistia), 4, 7, 11, 21f., 24, 33, 39, 46, 48, 51ff., 55f., 58f., 61, 63–65, 67, 68, 69–72, 75–78, 88, 90, 93, 95, 97, 103, 104, n.33*a*, 41
Phraortes, 88, n.68
Phrygia, see Muski

Pretenders, Baasha, n.7*a*; Pekah, vid. s.v.; Shallum, 31; Menahem, 31, 33; Hoshea, 39, 53, 54; Uzziah (Azariah), 26ff.
Psammetichus, I, 88, 90, 93, 100; siege of Ashdod, 88, 93, 95; II, 100f., 103

Qarnaim, 28, 33, n.33
Qarnini, 28, 33, 39, 55, n.33
Que (Cilicia), 13, 24, 38, 39, 60f., 64, 67, n.52, 53

Ramoth Gilead, 10, 14, 16, 20
Raphia (battle), 64f.
Rechabites, 19
Rehoboam, 5, 6
"rejoice," n.43
Rezin, 3, 18, 30, 33, 34–43, 44, 46, 47–53, 57f., n.33, 39, 40, 43
Rezon, 4, 6, 10, 30
Riblah, 94, 98, 101
Rukibtu, 58, 78

Samal (Yaudi), 13, 24, 39, 42, 63ff., n.35, 53
Samaria, 8, 11, 12, 17, 22f., 24, 28, 39, 44f., 46, 59ff., 62, 63ff.; siege by Benhadad III, 22f., 24, n.25; fall, 3, 60f., n.53
Sardis, 106; fall (new date), 107
Sardurri (Urartu), 37
Sargon, 45, 60–74, 80, 82, n.13, 36, 59; son of Tiglathpileser, n.53; king of Babylon, 67, 71; catastrophe, 74, 77, n.58*a*
Scythians, 81, 92ff., 99, 105, n.70; the six redundant years, n.73
Sennacherib, 75–80, 82, 86, n.42, 60–65
Shabako, 68
Shalish, 49f.
Shallum, 31, 33
Shalmaneser, III, 12ff., 16, 17, 20, n.13, 21; IV, 27, V, 42, 59f., 61; death, n.53
Sheshbazzar, 107, 109
Shishak, 6
Sidka (Ashkelon), 75ff.
Sidon, 24, 60, 75–78, 86, 97f., 105
Simirra, 33, 39, 63f.
Solomon, 4, 5, 10, 72f., n.58
Synagoga Magna, 111
Syro-Ephraimite War, 44, 47–55, 59

Tabal, 39, 53, 58
Tabor, 46, n.37
Tabrimmon, 6, 7
Tappuah, 33
Tarhulara (Gurgum), 69
Tartan, ag. Ashdod, 69
Thutmose III, 93, 94
Tibni, 8, n.11
Tiglathpileser III, 31, 33, 35–43, 44f., 47, 49, 51–58, 61, 62, 65, 81, 83, n.35, 40; accession, n.34
Tirhaqa, 86
Tirzah, 8, 31, 33
Tyre, 4, 9, 11, 21, 24, 37ff., 41, 50, 51, 53, 58–65, 75ff., 86, 97f., 104, n.59; 13 yrs. siege, 98ff., 100–103, n.74, S; 2nd Babylonian siege, 105f.; 5 yrs. siege, 60–65

Unqi, 37, 38f., 40
Urartu, 13, 16, 20, 35, 36–38, 41, 42, 49, 63, 67–71; 74, 105
Uzziah (Azariah), 26–33, 46, 48, 53, n.33*a*

Veii, 57

Yaudi, see Samal

Zachariah, n.33*a*
Zakir (stele), 22–24, 27, n.13; analysis, n.25
Zechariah, 31, 33, 34
Zedekiah, 98–103
Zerubbabel, 109f.
Zimri, 8
Zobah, 4, 10, 33, 39, 41, 55

## II

*Judges*
11:26 ..... n.5
*II Samuel*
10:6 ..... n.10
*I Kings*
12:25 ..... n.5
15:6 ..... 6, n.7
15:18 ..... 7, n.10
22:52 ..... 11, n.15
*II Kings*
1:1 ..... n.20
3:1 ..... 11, n.15
3:5 ..... n.20
6:24–7:20 ..... 22
7:6 ..... n.10
10:32 ..... n.24
13:3 ..... n.24, 25
13:4f. ..... n.24
13:14–25 ..... n.25
13:17 ..... n.16
13:20 ..... n.24
13:22 ..... n.24, 25
13:23ff. ..... n.24
14:26f. ..... n.24
14:28 ..... 26, n.30, 33*a*
15:19 ..... 41
15:37 ..... 47
20:12ff. ..... 66
24:8, 12 ..... S
*Isaiah*
1:7–9 ..... 48, n.42
7:1ff. ..... 50
7:8 ..... n.31
8:6–8 ..... 50, n.43
9:8–12, 20f. ..... 46
10:5ff. ..... 68, n.58*a*
14:4ff. ..... 74, n.58*a*
14:24–27 ..... 68
14:28ff. ..... 58
14:29 ..... 56, n.42
15f. ..... n.47
20 ..... 65
20:1 ..... 69
22:1ff. ..... n.57
37:7, 38 ..... 80
39 ..... 66
*Jeremiah*
2:18, 36 ..... 90
27; 28; 29 ..... 99
34; 37f. ..... 100
44:17ff. ..... 85
47:1ff. ..... n.70
*Ezekiel*
17 ..... 100
25 ..... 104
26:1–6 ..... 102, n.74
29:1ff.; 30:20ff. ..... 101
32:1–16 ..... 102
*Hosea*
1:4 ..... 30
5:1 ..... 46, n.37
5:5, 13 ..... 49
6:8 ..... 46
*Amos*
6:13 ..... 28, n.33
*Zechariah*
9:1–8 ..... n.33*a*
*Proverbs*
25:1 ..... n.58
*I Chronicles*
5:26 ..... 52
*II Chronicles*
13:20 ..... 6
16:1 ..... n.7
26:5 ..... n.33*a*
27:5 ..... 47
27:5–8; 28, 17f. ..... 48
28:19 ..... 51f.
28:27 ..... 46
30:26 ..... 72, n.58
36:9 ..... 10, S
*Josephus*
Antt. x 6:3; 7:1 ..... S
*Xenophon*
Cyrop. viii 6:20 ..... n.32

## CORRIGENDA

1. The northern border of *Hilakku* is missing on Maps I, VII, X, XII, XIII.
2. Map VI (p. 38), in explanation of symbols, add "–" in 742–740.

# THE DIVIDED KINGDOM IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

A CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY

by

*Max Vogelstein*

NEW YORK
1957

A Supplement to the Author's

FERTILE SOIL

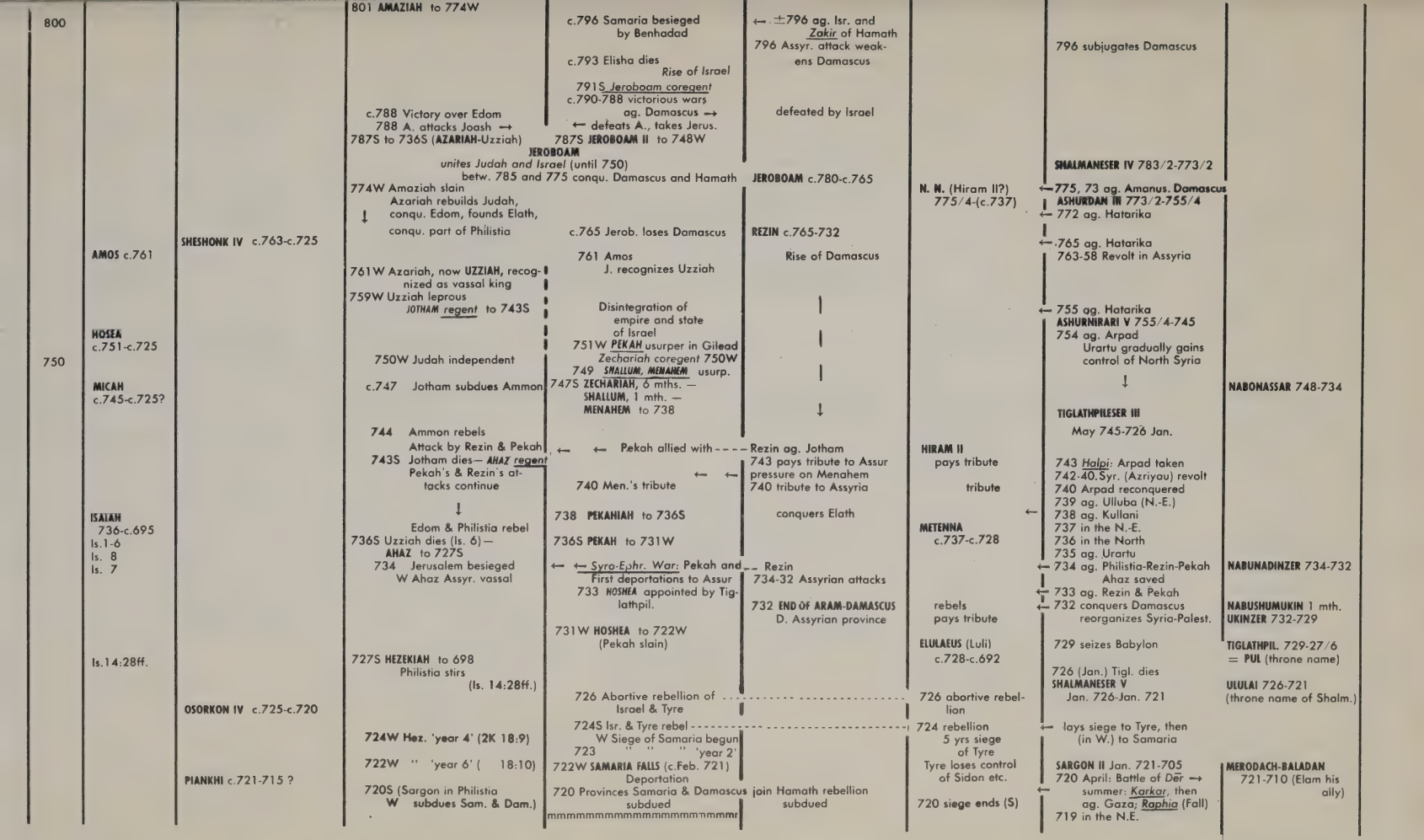
A POLITICAL HISTORY OF ISRAEL UNDER THE DIVIDED KINGDOM

Copyright 1957, by Max Vogelstein
Manufactured in the United States of America

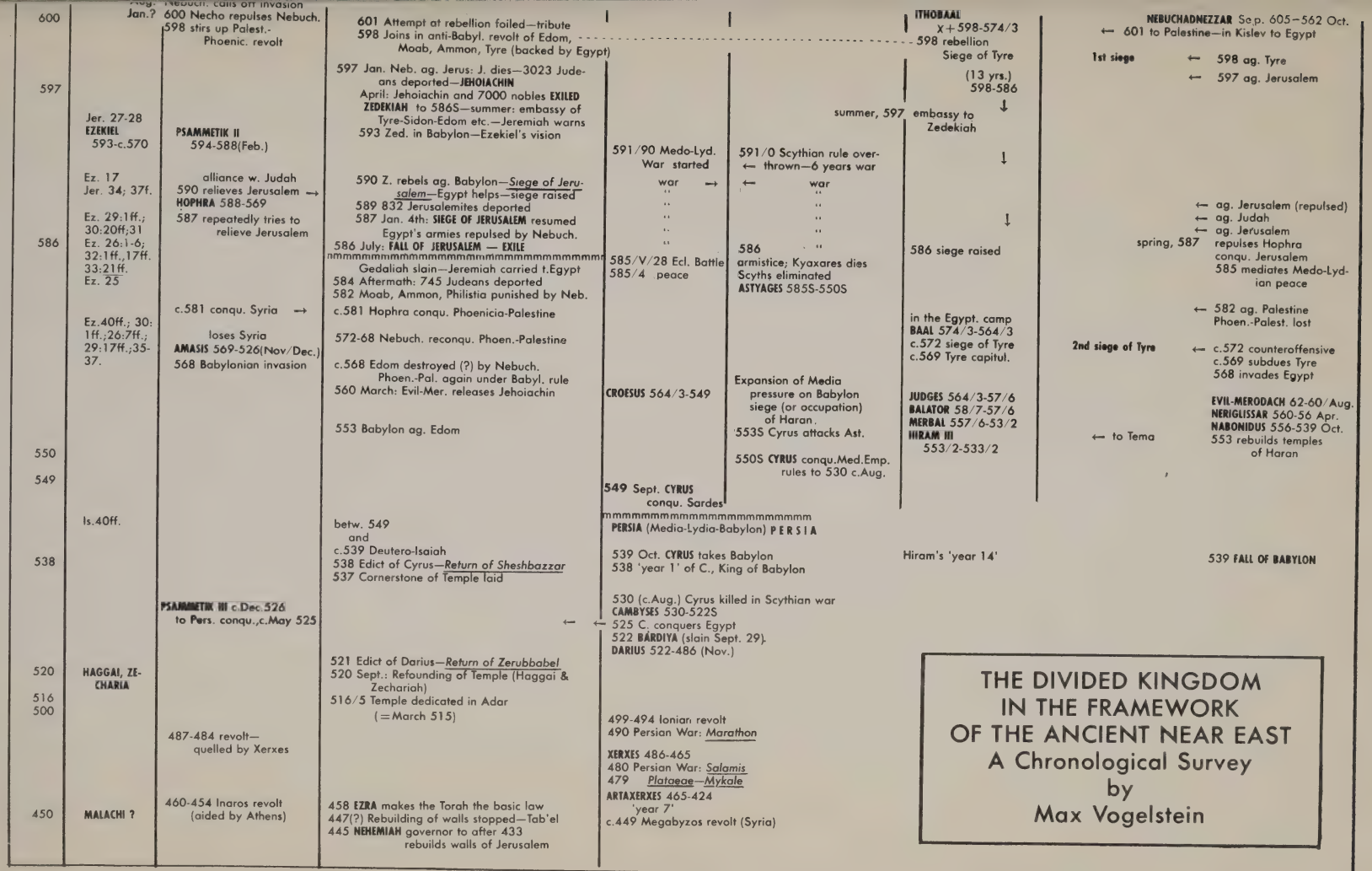
SYMBOLS

S: after a year = summer (spring to fall)
W: after a year = winter (fall to spring)
S and W in the text = South & West
*Battles:* names of places in *italics,*
e.g., *Eltekeh* (701), *Carchemish* (605)

| GUIDE | PROPHETS | EGYPT | JUDAH | ISRAEL | ARAM | PHOENICIA | ASSYRIA | BABYLON |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | SOLOMON 973-933 | | | HIRAM 982/1-936/5 | | |
| 950 | | SHESHONK I (Shishak) c.947-925 | 933 REHOBOAM to 917 | 933 JEROBOAM I to 911 | REZON | BALBEZER 936/5-919/8 | TIGLATHPIL. II 967/6-35/4<br>ASHURDAN II 935/4-912/11 | |
| | | 929 Palest. campaign → | 929 Shishak attacks | | TABRIMMON | | revival of Assyria | |
| | | | c.925 treaty with Aram | | treaty with Judah | | | |
| | | OSORKON I c.925-889 | 923 *Abijah coregent* repulses attack → | ← attacks, defeated | | ABDASTARTUS 919/8-910/9 | | |
| | | | 917 ABIJAH to 914S | | | | | |
| | | | 914 ASA to 874 | | | | | |
| | | | | 913 *Nadab coregent* | BENHADAD I | METHUSASTARTUS 910/9-898/7 | ADADNIRARI II 912/1-891/0 | |
| | | | | 911 NADAB to 909W (slain) | | | | |
| | | | | 909 BAASHA to 886 | | | | |
| 900 | | | 901 Cult reform | treaty with Aram | treaty w. Israel | ASTHARYMUS 898/7-889/8<br>PHELLES 889/8 | TUKULTININURTA II 891/0-884/3 | |
| | | | | c.895 Omri drives Moab behind the Arnon | | | | |
| | | TAKELOT I c.889-865 | c.888 Siege of Jerusalem, treaty with Aram | ← attack | | ITHOBAAL 888-857/6 | | |
| | | | siege raised | | treaty w. Judah | | | |
| | | | | B. defeated | ← attack | | | |
| | | | | 886 ELAH to 885W (slain) | | | | |
| | | | | 885 ZIMRI (7 days) | N. N. | | | |
| | | | | 885 OMRI to 874W | annexes some Isr. cities | | | |
| | | | | (TIBNI 885-880) | | | ASHURNASIRPAL II 884/3-859/8 | |
| | | | | c.880 *Samaria founded*, | concessions in Samaria | | | |
| | | | | Ahab marries Jezebel | | treaty w. Omri | | |
| | | | | Moab subjugated (878 ?) | | | | |
| | | | 875 *Josaphat coregent* | | BENHADAD II to c.843 | tribute to Assyria | c.875 invasion of northern Syria & Phoenicia | |
| | | | 874 JOSAPHAT to 849 controls Edom | 874 AHAB to 853W | gains hegemony in Syria | | | |
| | ELIJAH | | 869 alliance | alliance | | | | |
| | to c.852 | | 865 Joram marries Athaliah | | | | SHALMANESER III 859/8-824/3 | |
| | | | | | | BALEZER 857/6-851/0 | | |
| | | | | 856 repulses Syr. attack → | ← attacks | | | |
| | | | | 855 victorious → | ← attacks | | | |
| | | | | peace 855-853 | peace, alliance | | | |
| | | | | 853 summer, *Karkar*, Ahab in Syro-Phoenician coalition against Assyria → | | | ← *Karkar* 853 | |
| | MICAIAH b. Imlah | | 853 fall, Jos. joins Ahab in attack on Ramoth-Gilead → | | | | | |
| | | | *Joram coregent* | Ahab killed at Ramoth | ← repulses attack | | | |
| | | | | 853 AHAZIAH to 852S | | | | |
| | | | | Moab rebels | | | | |
| | ELISHA | | | 852 JORAM to 841S | | METTEN 851/0-822/1 | 851-50 subjugates Babylon → | conquered by Assyria |
| 850 | c.852-c.793 | | 850 Jos. joins Joram in war ag. Mesha of Moab | | | | ← 849, 48, 45 ag. Syro-Phoenician coalition | |
| | | | 849 JORAM to 842W loses Edom | | 849, 48, 45 war w. Assyria | | | |
| | | | | | c.843 HAZAEL, usurper to c.800 | | | |
| | | | 842 AHAZIAH to 841S | | siege of Damascus | | | |
| | | | 841 Joins Joram in war ag. Aram (Ramoth-Gilead) | | | ← | ← 841 attacks Damascus | |
| | | | late summer, slain in Revolution of Jehu — slain | | | | | |
| | | | REVOLUTION | | | | | |
| | | | 841 ATHALIAH to 836W | 841 JEHU to 820 | | ← | ← 838 last attack on Damascus | |
| | | | | Decline of Israel and Judah | Rise of Damascus c.837-803 | | 827-822 revolt | rebels ag. Assyria |
| | | | 836 Ath. slain JOASH (841) to 801S | | | | | |
| | | SHESHONK III c.820-768 | | 821 *Joahaz coregent* | | PYGMALION 822-775 | SHAMSHIADAD V 824/3-811/0 | |
| | | | | 819 JOAHAZ to 803W | | 815/4 Carthage founded | 817-812 campaigns → | reconqu. by Ass. |
| | | | | | 805-02 Assyrian attacks loses his vassals | ← | ADADNIRARI III 811/0-783/2<br>← 805-802 ag. Syria-Palestine splits vassals from Hazael's empire | |
| | | | | 803 JOASH to 788W | | tribute to Assur | | |
| | | | | c.802 tribute to Assyria | | | | |
| | | | 801 tribute to Hazael | | 801 ag. Philistia & Judah | | | |
| | | | J. murdered (summer) | Recovery begins | BENHADAD III c.800-c.780 | | | |


800
750
801 AMAZIAH to 774W
c.796 Samaria besieged by Benhadad
±796 ag. Isr. and Zakir of Hamath
796 Assyr. attack weakens Damascus
796 subjugates Damascus
c.793 Elisha dies
Rise of Israel
791S Jeroboam coregent
c.790-788 victorious wars ag. Damascus →
defeated by Israel
c.788 Victory over Edom
788 A. attacks Joash →
← defeats A., takes Jerus.
787S to 736S (AZARIAH-Uzziah)
787S JEROBOAM II to 748W
JEROBOAM
unites Judah and Israel (until 750)
betw. 785 and 775 conqu. Damascus and Hamath
JEROBOAM c.780-c.765
SHALMANESER IV 783/2-773/2
774W Amaziah slain
Azariah rebuilds Judah, conqu. Edom, founds Elath,
conqu. part of Philistia
c.765 Jerob. loses Damascus
REZIN c.765-732
Rise of Damascus
N. N. (Hiram II?) 775/4-(c.737)
←775, 73 ag. Amanus. Damascus
ASHURDAN III 773/2-755/4
← 772 ag. Hatarika
SHESHONK IV c.763-c.725
←765 ag. Hatarika
763-58 Revolt in Assyria
AMOS c.761
761 Amos J. recognizes Uzziah
761W Azariah, now UZZIAH, recognized as vassal king
759W Uzziah leprous
JOTHAM regent to 743S
Disintegration of empire and state of Israel
← 755 ag. Hatarika
ASHURNIRARI V 755/4-745
754 ag. Arpad
Urartu gradually gains control of North Syria
HOSEA c.751-c.725
751W PEKAH usurper in Gilead
Zechariah coregent 750W
749 SHALLUM, MENAHEM usurp.
750W Judah independent
MICAH c.745-c.725?
747S ZECHARIAH, 6 mths. —
SHALLUM, 1 mth. —
MENAHEM to 738
c.747 Jotham subdues Ammon
NABONASSAR 748-734
TIGLATHPILESER III
May 745-726 Jan.
744 Ammon rebels
Attack by Rezin & Pekah
← ← Pekah allied with - - - - Rezin ag. Jotham
HIRAM II pays tribute
743S Jotham dies— AHAZ regent
Pekah's & Rezin's attacks continue
743 pays tribute to Assur
pressure on Menahem
743 Halpi: Arpad taken
742-40 Syr. (Azriyau) revolt
740 Men.'s tribute
740 tribute to Assyria
tribute
740 Arpad reconquered
739 ag. Ulluba (N.-E.)
ISAIAH 736-c.695
Is.1-6
Is. 8
Is. 7
Edom & Philistia rebel
738 PEKAHIAH to 736S
conquers Elath
←
738 ag. Kullani
736S Uzziah dies (Is. 6)—
AHAZ to 727S
736S PEKAH to 731W
METENNA c.737-c.728
737 in the N.-E.
736 in the North
735 ag. Urartu
734 Jerusalem besieged
W Ahaz Assyr. vassal
← ← Syro-Ephr. War: Pekah and - - Rezin
First deportations to Assur
733 HOSHEA appointed by Tiglathpil.
734-32 Assyrian attacks
732 END OF ARAM-DAMASCUS
D. Assyrian province
← 734 ag. Philistia-Rezin-Pekah
Ahaz saved
NABUNADINZER 734-732
← 733 ag. Rezin & Pekah
rebels
pays tribute
← 732 conquers Damascus
reorganizes Syria-Palest.
NABUSHUMUKIN 1 mth.
UKINZER 732-729
731W HOSHEA to 722W
(Pekah slain)
ELULAEUS (Luli) c.728-c.692
729 seizes Babylon
TIGLATHPIL. 729-27/6 = PUL (throne name)
Is.14:28ff.
727S HEZEKIAH to 698
Philistia stirs
(Is. 14:28ff.)
726 (Jan.) Tigl. dies
SHALMANESER V Jan. 726-Jan. 721
ULULAI 726-721 (throne name of Shalm.)
726 Abortive rebellion of Israel & Tyre
726 abortive rebellion
OSORKON IV c.725-c.720
724S Isr. & Tyre rebel
W Siege of Samaria begun
724 rebellion
5 yrs siege of Tyre
Tyre loses control of Sidon etc.
lays siege to Tyre, then (in W.) to Samaria
724W Hez. 'year 4' (2K 18:9)
723 " " " 'year 2'
722W " 'year 6' ( 18:10)
722W SAMARIA FALLS (c.Feb. 721)
Deportation
SARGON II Jan. 721-705
720 April: Battle of Dēr →
summer: Karkar, then ag. Gaza; Raphia (Fall)
MERODACH-BALADAN 721-710 (Elam his ally)
PIANKHI c.721-715 ?
720S (Sargon in Philistia W subdues Sam. & Dam.)
720 Provinces Samaria & Damascus subdued
join Hamath rebellion subdued
720 siege ends (S)
719 in the N.E.

| GUIDE | PROPHETS | EGYPT | JUDAH | LYDIA (Fall years) | SYRIA | PHOENICIA | ASSYRIA | BABYLON |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | 718 ag. Shinuhtu | |
| | | SHABAKA c.715-701 | | GYGES 720/19-682/1 | | | 717 Carchemish province | |
| | Is. 10:5ff. | 715 tribute to Assyria | 715W Calendar Reform—*Cult Reform* | | | | 716-15 ag. N.E. and Muski | |
| | 14:24ff. | organizes Palestin- | 714 *Passover*—Hez. veers toward anti- | | | | 714 ag. Urartu: Musasir | |
| | | ian anti-Assyrian | Assyrian coalition | | | | | builds up anti-Assyr. |
| | Is. 20 | coalition | 713 Ashdod rebellion, 1st stage, abortive | | | | ←713 *tartan* ag. Ashdod; Tabal | coalition |
| | 38; 39 | | 712 Hez. ill—Alliance w. Merod.-Balad., | | | | province | contacts Hezekiah |
| | 22 | | Edom, Moab, Ashdod (backed up by | | | | Komana (Melid) province | |
| | | | Egypt) against Assyria | | | | | |
| | | | 711 Ashdod (Iamani) crushed—Jerusalem | | Gurgum rebels; subdued | | ←711 crushes rebellions | |
| | | | spared | | | | 710 ag. Merod.-Baladan → | Sargon takes Babylon |
| | | | | 708 begins conquest | c.709 | loses Cyprus to S. | 709 S. takes hands of Bel | **SARGON** 710-705 |
| | | | 705 H. rebels ag. Ass. jointly w. Tyre- | of Ionia and the | | 705 rebellion | 705 S. killed in campaign | |
| | | | Sidon and Philistia (Ekron), sup- | Phrygian empire | | regains Cyprus | **SENNACHERIB** 705-680 Jan. | 703 Merod.-Bal. returns |
| | | | ported by Egypt | | mmmmmmmmmmmmm mm | | 702 Feb/Mch: *Kish*, enters Bab. | **BELIBNI** appointed |
| | Is. 37 | defeated at *Elteke* | 701 *Elteke* — **SIEGE OF JERUSALEM** | | **MEDIA** (Fall yecrs) | flees to Cyprus ← | 701 ag. Tyre, Philistia, Judah | 702-700 |
| 700 | | **SHABATAKA** c.701-690 | | | **DEIOCES** 701/0-648/7 | loses Sidon and | *Elteke* | **ASHURNADINSHUMU** |
| | | | 698 **MANASSEH** to 643W | | | mainland | | 700-694/3 |
| | | | Counter-reform (Cult and Calendar) | | | **N.N.** (Baal?) | | **NERGALUSHEZIB** to 693 |
| | | **TIRHAKA** c.690-663 (661) | | | | c.692-? | 689 destroys Babylon → | **MUSHEZIBMARDUK** to 689 |
| | | | | **ARDYS** 682/1-633/2 | | | 680 Jan.: Sennacherib slain | |
| | | | | | | | **ESARHADDON** 680-669 Nov. | **ESARHADDON** 680-669 |
| | | | | | | 677 Sidon rebels | ← destroys Sidon | 680 rebuilds Babylon |
| | | 675 Assyrian invasion | | | | **BAAL** | ←675 ag. Tyre & Egypt | 675 Elamite invasion |
| | | 671 Fall of Memphis | c.671 Manasseh deported to Assyria | | | | ←671 Memphis taken | |
| | | rebellion | | | | | ←669 ag. Egypt; E. dies | |
| | | | c.668 M. re-instated on the throne | | | | **ASHURBANIPAL** Nov. 669-c.630 | **SHAMASH-SHUMUKIN** |
| | | 667 Fall of Memphis | ←667 M. joins Assyr. exped. ag. Egypt | | | joins Ass. exp. ← | ←667 ag. Egypt, Memphis taken | 668-648 |
| | | | 666 Amon born (c.Nov/Dec.) | | | rebels | ←666 ag. Tyre | |
| | Nahum 3:8ff. | 663 Sack of Thebes | | | | | ←663 ag. Egypt—Thebes sacked | |
| | | **PSAMMETIK I** 663-609 | | | | | pact w. Lydia (?) | c.653 rebels |
| 650 | | | 650 Josiah born (c. Nov.) | | **PHRAORTES** 648/7-626/5 | | 648 quenches rebellion → | **KANDALANU** 648-626 |
| | | | 643W **AMON** (c. Nov.) to 641 (c.Oct.:murdered) | | | | 646 destroys Susa → | |
| | | | 641W **JOSIAH** (c. Oct.) to summer (Sivan) 609 | | | | and Kingdom of Elam | |
| | | c.639 begins extending | | Cimmerian invasion | | | ←c.640 ag. Arabs—subdues | |
| | | control over | 634 Jehoiakim born (c. Aug.) | 633/2 A.killed? | | | western rebels | |
| | | Philistia → | 633 First steps toward reform | **SADYATTES** 633/2-21/0 | | | | |
| | | (siege of Ashdod) | | | repeated attacks on Ass. → | | **ASHURETELILANI** c.630-c.626 | |
| | | | 629 2nd step: Foreign cults destroyed | | | | | |
| | **JEREMIAH** | | 628/7 *Jeremiah* begins his career | | | | | |
| | 628/7-c.583 | | c.626 Jos. begins reoccupying Negev & SW = | 626-615 Milesian | 626/5 Ph. slain in attack → | | **SINSHUMULISHIR** c.626 | **NABOPOLASSAR** |
| | **NAHUM ?** | | Judah—then extending his rule over | war | **KYAXARES** 626/5-585S | | **SINSHARRA-ISHKUN** | Nov. 626-605 Aug. |
| | **ZEPHANIAH** | | former Isr. territory W. of Jordan | " | | | c.626-612 (August) | |
| | | | 623 Fall: Calendar reform (Spring-Cal.) | " | | | | |
| | | | "Deuteronomy" discovered | " | | | | |
| 622 | | | 622 Spring: *Deuteron. Reform*—**PASSOVER** | **ALYATTES** 621/0-564/3 | | | | |
| | | 616 military aid to → | | 615/4 ends Milesian | 615 (fall) begins attacks → | → | 616 Babylonian attack ← | 616 begins attack |
| | | Assyria | | war | 614 conquers Assur → | → | 614 Fall of Assur | on Ass. |
| | | | | | 612 Ab: conqu. Nineveh → | → | 612 Aug. *Fall of Nineveh* | |
| | | | | | Elul: defeat by Scyths | | **ASHURUBALLIT** 612-606 | |
| | | | | | **SCYTHIAN DOMINION OF ASIA** | | Haran capital | |
| | | | | | 612-585 | | | |
| | **HABAKKUK ?** | 611 buys off Scyths, | 611 Scyths in Palestine | ← | 611 ag. Palestine | | | |
| | | takes Ashdod | 610 " leave in fall—march ag. Hatan → | | 610 ag. Haran → | → | 610 loses Haran ← | 610 takes Haran |
| 609 | | **NECHO** 609-594 (c.Oct.) → | 609 *Megiddo* (June): Josiah slain in attempt | | | | 609 aided by Necho recon- | |
| | | exped. to Haran, | to stop Necho's aid to Ashuruballit | | | | quers Haran (Elul) | 609 loses Haran |
| | | joins Assyrians (July), | **JEHOAHAZ**—in August deposed by Necho | | | | | |
| | | takes Haran (Sept.) | **JEHOIAKIM** to Jan. (Tebet), 597 | | | | | |
| | | 606 holds Euphrates line | | | 606S Scyths take Haran | | | |
| | | | | | | | 606 **HARAN DESTROYED BY SCYTHS** ← attacks 606 | |
| 605 | | *Carch.*—Syria-Palest. lost | **605** J. vassal of Babylon (Mar./Apr.?) | | | | mmmmmmmmmmmmmm | |
| | | | | | | | Necho driven back ← | 605 *Carchemish* (March?) |


Aug.: Nebuch. calls off invasion
Jan.? 600 Necho repulses Nebuch.
598 stirs up Palest.-Phoenic. revolt
601 Attempt at rebellion foiled—tribute
598 Joins in anti-Babyl. revolt of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre (backed by Egypt)
ITHOBAAL x+598-574/3
598 rebellion
Siege of Tyre (13 yrs.) 598-586
NEBUCHADNEZZAR Se.p. 605–562 Oct.
← 601 to Palestine—in Kislev to Egypt
1st siege ← 598 ag. Tyre
← 597 ag. Jerusalem
600
597
597 Jan. Neb. ag. Jerus: J. dies—3023 Judeans deported—JEHOIACHIN
April: Jehoiachin and 7000 nobles EXILED
ZEDEKIAH to 586S—summer: embassy of Tyre-Sidon-Edom etc.—Jeremiah warns
593 Zed. in Babylon—Ezekiel's vision
summer, 597 embassy to Zedekiah
Jer. 27-28
EZEKIEL 593-c.570
PSAMMETIK II 594-588(Feb.)
591/90 Medo-Lyd. War started
591/0 Scythian rule overthrown—6 years war
Ez. 17
Jer. 34; 37f.
alliance w. Judah
590 relieves Jerusalem →
HOPHRA 588-569
590 Z. rebels ag. Babylon—Siege of Jerusalem—Egypt helps—siege raised
589 832 Jerusalemites deported
587 Jan. 4th: SIEGE OF JERUSALEM resumed
Egypt's armies repulsed by Nebuch.
war →
"
"
"
"
"
"
"
"
"
"
"
"
← ag. Jerusalem (repulsed)
← ag. Judah
← ag. Jerusalem
spring, 587 repulses Hophra conqu. Jerusalem
585 mediates Medo-Lydian peace
Ez. 29:1ff.; 30:20ff;31
Ez. 26:1-6; 32:1ff.,17ff. 33:21ff.
Ez. 25
587 repeatedly tries to relieve Jerusalem
586
586 July: FALL OF JERUSALEM — EXILE
Gedaliah slain—Jeremiah carried t.Egypt
584 Aftermath: 745 Judeans deported
582 Moab, Ammon, Philistia punished by Neb.
585/V/28 Ecl. Battle
585/4 peace
586 armistice; Kyaxares dies
Scyths eliminated
ASTYAGES 585S-550S
586 siege raised
c.581 conqu. Syria →
c.581 Hophra conqu. Phoenicia-Palestine
in the Egypt. camp
BAAL 574/3-564/3
c.572 siege of Tyre
c.569 Tyre capitul.
← 582 ag. Palestine
Phoen.-Palest. lost
Ez.40ff.; 30:1ff.;26:7ff.; 29:17ff.;35-37.
loses Syria
AMASIS 569-526(Nov/Dec.)
572-68 Nebuch. reconqu. Phoen.-Palestine
2nd siege of Tyre ← c.572 counteroffensive
c.569 subdues Tyre
568 Babylonian invasion
c.568 Edom destroyed (?) by Nebuch.
Phoen.-Pal. again under Babyl. rule
560 March: Evil-Mer. releases Jehoiachin
CROESUS 564/3-549
Expansion of Media
pressure on Babylon
siege (or occupation) of Haran.
553S Cyrus attacks Ast.
550S CYRUS conqu.Med.Emp. rules to 530 c.Aug.
JUDGES 564/3-57/6
BALATOR 58/7-57/6
MERBAL 557/6-53/2
HIRAM III 553/2-533/2
EVIL-MERODACH 62-60/Aug.
NERIGLISSAR 560-56 Apr.
NABONIDUS 556-539 Oct.
553 rebuilds temples of Haran
← to Tema
550
549
553 Babylon ag. Edom
549 Sept. CYRUS conqu. Sardes
PERSIA (Media-Lydia-Babylon) PERSIA
Is.40ff.
betw. 549 and c.539 Deutero-Isaiah
538 Edict of Cyrus—Return of Sheshbazzar
537 Cornerstone of Temple laid
539 Oct. CYRUS takes Babylon
538 'year 1' of C., King of Babylon
Hiram's 'year 14'
539 FALL OF BABYLON
538
PSAMMETIK III c.Dec.526 to Pers. conqu.,c.May 525
530 (c.Aug.) Cyrus killed in Scythian war
CAMBYSES 530-522S
← 525 C. conquers Egypt
522 BARDIYA (slain Sept. 29).
DARIUS 522-486 (Nov.)
521 Edict of Darius—Return of Zerubbabel
520 Sept.: Refounding of Temple (Haggai & Zechariah)
516/5 Temple dedicated in Adar (=March 515)
HAGGAI, ZECHARIA
520
516
500
499-494 Ionian revolt
490 Persian War: Marathon
487-484 revolt—quelled by Xerxes
XERXES 486-465
480 Persian War: Salamis
479 Plataeae—Mykale
ARTAXERXES 465-424 'year 7'
c.449 Megabyzos revolt (Syria)
460-454 Inaros revolt (aided by Athens)
458 EZRA makes the Torah the basic law
447(?) Rebuilding of walls stopped—Tab'el
445 NEHEMIAH governor to after 433 rebuilds walls of Jerusalem
MALACHI ?
450
THE DIVIDED KINGDOM
IN THE FRAMEWORK
OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST
A Chronological Survey
by
Max Vogelstein

DATE DUE

GAYLORD

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

BS1197 .43.V87
Fertile soil; a political history of
Princeton Theological Seminary–Speer Library
1 1012 00012 0883